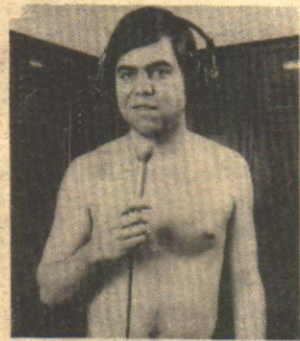


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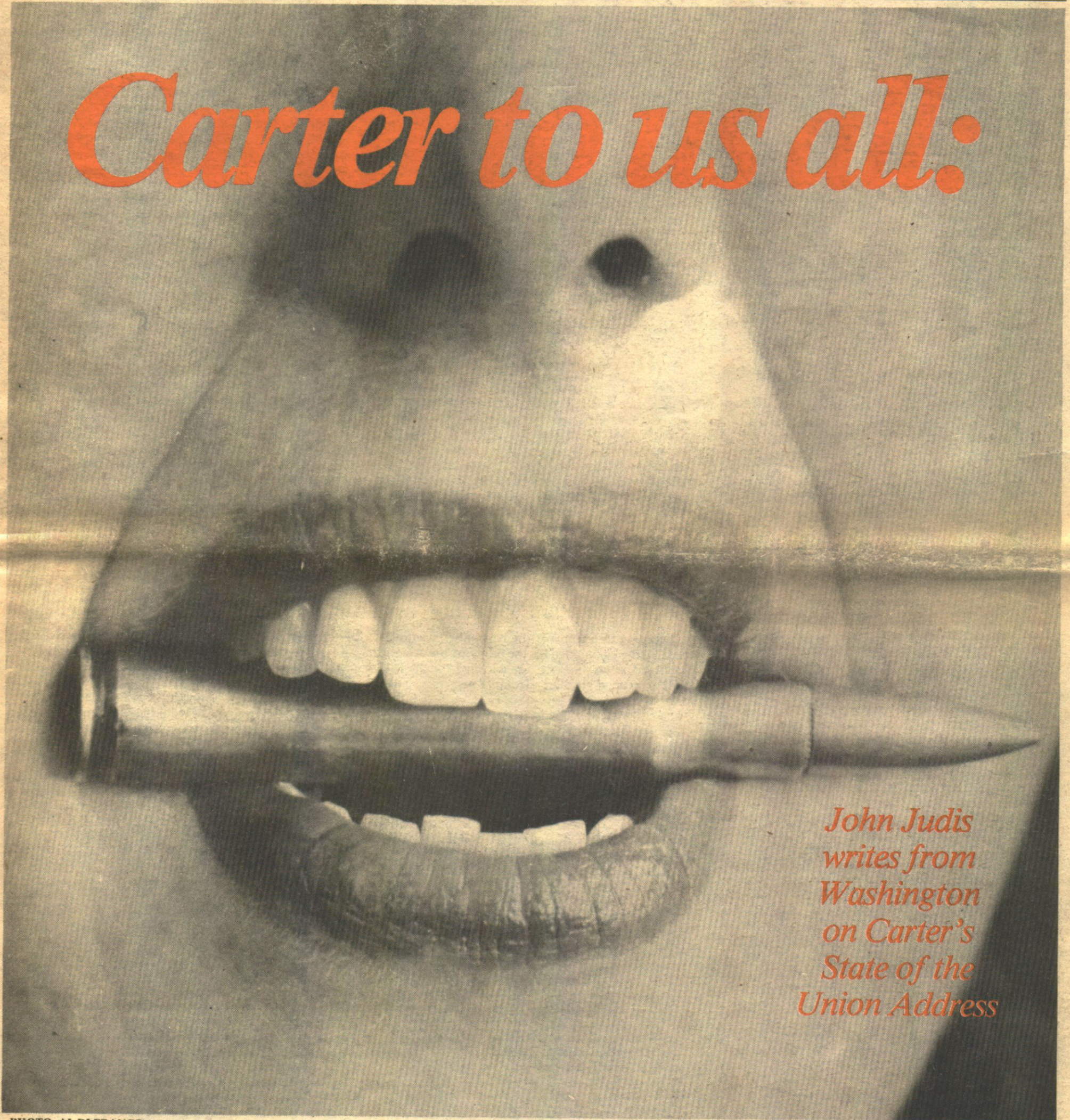
THE
SPORTS-
WRITER'S
CLOTHES
P. 12

Vol. 3, No. 11

Jan. 31-Feb. 6, 1979

70 Cents

Carter to us all:



*John Judis
writes from
Washington
on Carter's
State of the
Union Address*

PHOTO: AL DI FRANCO

PLUS

Southern shipbuilders fight the Steelworkers Page 7

Interviews with an Iranian socialist and a Moslem Page 9

"Zoot Suit" in Los Angeles Page 23

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Daley doesn't live here anymore.

The coming class struggle

After last November's elections, *Business Week* published an analysis of the "economic fallout" from Proposition 13-type initiatives. These initiatives uniformly freeze or limit the property tax rates on business and residential property. Property taxes can only go up, or exceed the limit, when the property is sold or transferred.

Because residential property changes hands far more frequently than business property, these initiatives will, in the long run, favor businesses. *Business Week* fears that when homeowners understand this, they will revolt against business. "Within the next six years," Oregon Senate President Jason Boe told *Business Week*, "the revolt against business will make Jarvis-Gann look like a kindergarten."

The premier issue of *Taxing and Spending*, a slick conservative magazine, echoes these fears. University of California economist John Sonstelie argues that anti-business tax reforms "will become more popular when it becomes apparent that landlords will not share their tax savings with tenants."

But Sonstelie warns that trying to make business carry the greater tax burden will have terrible consequences. "Experience has shown," he says, "that once a state starts taxing different classes of property at different rates, there may be no logical stopping place."

Genuine communism

It is difficult to say whether stupidity or desperation prompted the now-deposed Cambodian Communist leadership to make Prince Norodom Sihanouk their spokesman before the court of world opinion. Whatever the case, Sihanouk mostly provided a propaganda victory for world capitalism and its "model developments" in Taiwan and South Korea. In his Peking news conference, Sihanouk detailed the indignities of life under the Pol Pot regime. "I don't know why they chose to impose such a terrible policy on the people," Sihanouk said, "but they told me it was genuine communism."

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It's all black and white

Last fall, the *Chicago Tribune* did an extensive poll among Chicago's whites and blacks to determine their respective attitudes toward racial discrimination, government officials, and life in America. Most of the blacks and whites interviewed identified themselves as either "middle class" or "working class."

When asked whether government had a "special obligation," "no special obligation," or something "in between" to improve the economic position of blacks and other minorities, 69 percent of the blacks compared to only 14 percent of whites thought it had a special obligation. But 51 percent of whites thought minorities deserved something "in between" while only 31 percent opted for no special obligation.

When both groups were asked whether "things are getting better or worse," 71 percent of blacks compared to 47 percent of whites thought things were getting worse. (They failed to allow respondents to say whether they thought things had not gotten better—a question that probably would have gotten an affirmative from most blacks and whites.)

When both groups were asked whether government was run by a "few big interests out for themselves," 79 percent of the blacks and 65 percent of the whites agreed. Among the 18 to 34 year olds, 82 percent of the blacks and 72 percent of the whites agreed.

When both groups were asked whether "anything is worthwhile anymore," 79 percent of blacks and 58 percent of the whites said they sometimes wondered whether this was so. Among the 18 to 34 year olds, 80 percent of the blacks and 60 percent of the whites wondered.

One conclusion to be drawn from this survey: racial antagonisms, aggravated by corporate approaches to continued stagflation, tend to obscure a growing similarity in outlook among blacks and whites who think of themselves as "middle class" or "working class."

Down with heavy mags

Last spring, *New Times* publisher George Hirsch sold his magazine to the media conglomerate MCA. "We knew that *New Times* was not in perfect health or making money," an MCA official told *Business Week*, "but it represented an opportunity to get a going magazine." Earlier this month MCA closed up *New Times*. "The tone of the times is away from interest in heavy things," the MCA official concluded.

Hirsch is now running MCA's *The Runner*, and the *New Times* subscription list and some of its staff writers like Robert Shrum have migrated to *Politics Today*, the Santa Barbara-based magazine put out by heiress Christine Schlumberger.

Non-voters win again

According to a study of the November elections released by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, voter participation declined for the fourth straight off-year election—from 39 percent of eligible voters in 1974 to 37.9 percent in 1978.

For congressional races alone, the Committee estimates that turnout dropped from 36.1 percent in 1974 to under 35 percent in 1978. This would be the lowest proportion of voters since 1930.

Twelve states showed increases in turnout. Five of these were southern states (Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas) in which two-party competition was more heated than in past elections. Three of the states (Minnesota, Oregon and Wisconsin) were using election-day registration for the first time in

an off-year election. (Voters can register when they vote.)

The Committee also found that ballot initiatives had "no discernable impact" on voter turnout. In every state where such initiatives were on the ballot, the votes in a race for a high constitutional office exceeded those for and against the initiatives. Of the 19 states with major initiatives, six had higher turnouts, eight had lower, and five the same.

This city doesn't work

Usually emergencies bring out the best in people, and Chicago's great "blizzard of '79" has been no exception. Neighbors and passersby have chipped in to dig each other out of Chicago's worst week of snow since 1877.

But the storm didn't bring out the best in the city's prized Democratic government. Instead, it showed that the city is ruled by a blizzard of corruption and inefficiency. Where most suburbs and neighboring cities like Milwaukee had already emerged from the snowfall two or three days after it hit, Chicago streets and sidewalks remained largely impassible a week later. And while Chicagoans waited patiently for the city to act, one snafu after another exhausted their good humor:

•On Monday, Jan. 15, after the weekend blizzard, Mayor Michael Bilandic, the doe-eyed corporate lawyer who inherited Richard J. Daley's job, warned Chicago car-owners that they should get their cars off the streets and into 103 school and city parking lots so that snow plows could go into action. He said the 103 lots had already been cleared for free parking. If car-owners didn't move their vehicles, they would be fined up to \$200.

But when car-owners rushed to dig out and move their cars, they found no parking lots available. The next day, a *Chicago Sun-Times* survey discovered that less than half of the 103 lots had been cleared.

•Chicagoans also discovered that, for the most part, the plows never arrived. There were numerous reports of five or six snowplows congregated on one block, with only one snowplow working. One out-of-town contractor who had been hired to plow the streets quit when he found he was being paid for doing nothing. "It was the easiest money I ever earned, sitting in my end-loader talking," he told the *Chicago Tribune*.

•Then a report came out that in 1977 Bilandic had cancelled the city's contract with a reputable engineering firm that had been hired to devise a snow-removal plan and replaced it with a newly set up firm headed by former Deputy Mayor Kenneth W. Sain, a Bilandic crony, whose expertise in snow-removal was open to question. The city was supposedly acting on Sain's plan.

•On Sunday, Jan. 21, a survey by columnist Mike Royko discovered what he called "a clean sweep for clout." While most city streets remained buried, the streets, side streets, and even alleyways surrounding the homes of Democratic aldermen, precinct captains, and officials had been swept clean by early in the week—often even before major highways had been cleared. Royko reprinted one letter from a fed-up Chicagoan: "Last night the snowplows came through and they went straight to the precinct captain's house. He lives two doors from me. They plow his parking space for four cars. So I went over and asked if they could plow a parking space for me because my son has a bad heart and I'm too old to shovel. The man on the plow says, 'Sorry, lady, I've got to do the boss's place.'"

Most Chicagoans venerate ex-Mayor Daley, and so the most often heard lament was, "If Daley was here, none of this would happen." But Bilandic and other city officials remain Daley proteges, faced with climatic emergencies that for the most part Daley never had to deal with.

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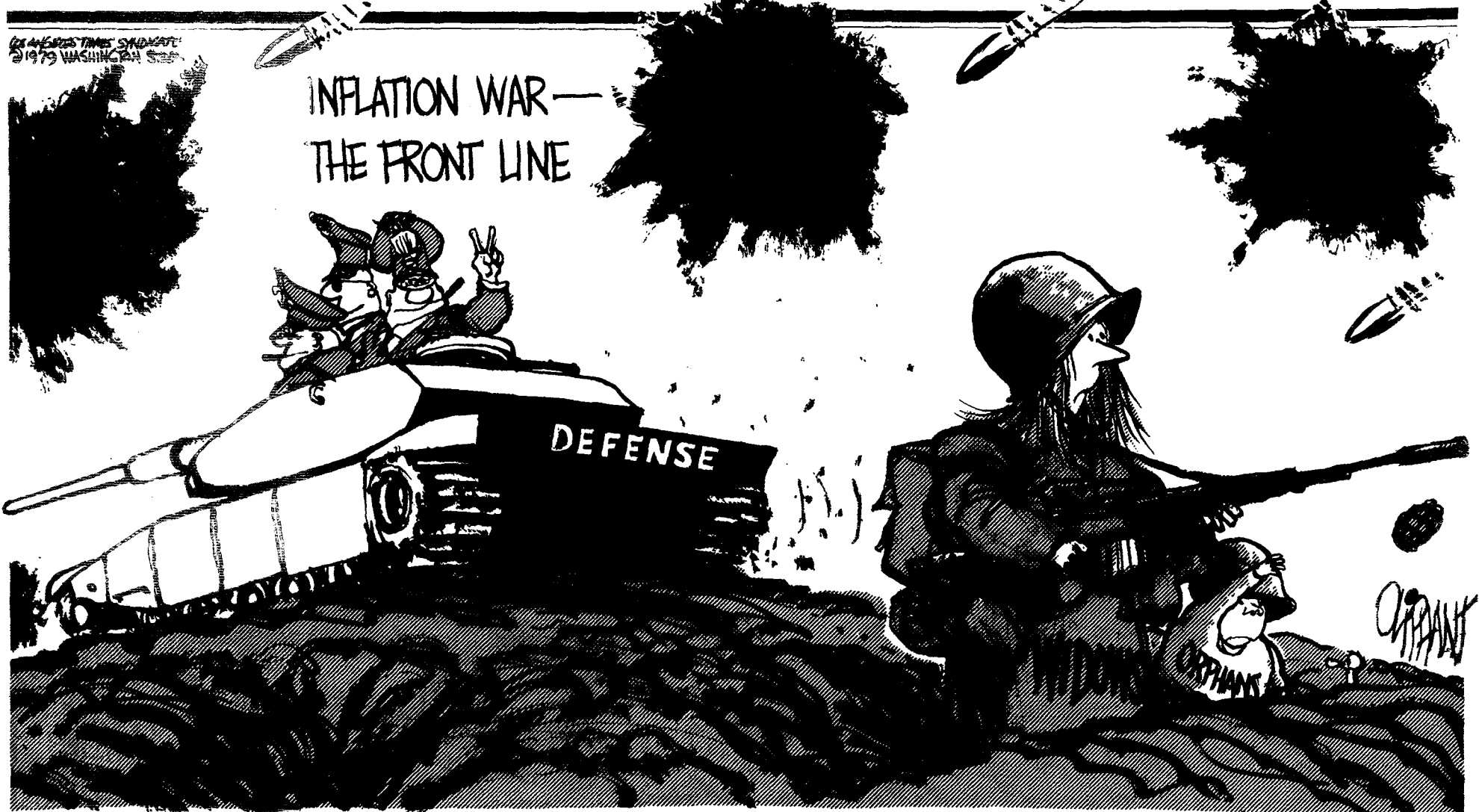
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IN THE NATION



Jimmy pleases Republicans

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

HOUSE MINORITY LEADER John T. Rhodes (R-AZ) was searching last week for something to criticize in Jimmy Carter's ostensibly Democratic budget, but he couldn't find much.

"Jimmy Carter's 1980 budget reflects a belated recognition that his policies and those of the Democratic majority in Congress are largely responsible for the destructive inflation we have been experiencing since he took office," Rhodes complained.

"While the spending levels indicated in the budget are a modest step toward fiscal sanity," he added, "I am dubious that the President can persuade the Democrats in Congress to go along."

Rhodes typified the bemused bewilderment with which Republicans greeted Carter's budget and State of the Union address. They could praise them only at the expense of their political identity.

Liberal and left-wing Democrats also found they could praise the budget and the speech only at the cost of their identity. "He's coming in at below Ford's level," Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) lobbyist Leslie Lobel charged. "He's rejecting the principle that the Democratic Party has stood for."

These Democrats are beginning to look for a candidate who might challenge Carter in 1980. Nearly all want Ted Kennedy to run but they can never be sure he will.

"We are in desperate need of a candidate for the left," Stephen Schlossberg, United Auto Workers' Director of Governmental Affairs, said.

"The big question is whether we can have a candidate in 1980," representative John Conyers (D-MI) said. "Right now I don't know of one."

New Foundations.

When Carter first took office, it seemed that, in spite of his relatively narrow political experience, he had a highly sophisticated world outlook. He had been one of the few public officials invited to join the David Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission. He had numbered among his early advisers such advanced thinkers as Wharton's Lawrence Klein,

an advocate of state capitalist remedies for American economic problems.

But it soon became apparent that he was playing things by ear. He was caught between contradictory impulses: between traditional Democratic policies that he had adopted to win party support and a small businessman's distrust of big government that he had so effectively espoused in his early campaign and as George

for a planned recession, which would have to be achieved by drastic budget cuts and tight money policies, or for mandatory wage, price, credit and investment controls.

The long-term cause of this crisis lies in the world investment slump that developed as Japan and Western Europe built up their industrial capacity to rival that of the U.S. But its immediate cause was

Carter plays Hoover as leftists and liberals look haplessly for another candidate.

gia's governor; between the Cold War allegiances of an ex-Naval officer and a technocrat's repulsion at the forest of waste and corruption that had grown up around the Pentagon.

But three years into his presidency, Carter seems to have finally found himself. In his State of the Union speech, Carter described what he called a "new foundation" for the U.S. This new foundation really consists of the old combination of small business, laissez faire ideology and Cold Warriorism fitted to a new stage of American and world problems.

"America has the greatest economic system in the world," Carter said in his speech. "Let's reduce government interference and give it a chance to work."

"We must maintain our strategic capability," Carter also said, "and continue the progress of our last two years with our NATO allies with whom we have increased our readiness, modernized our equipment and strengthened our defense forces in Europe."

These are themes that could be culled from Dwight Eisenhower's or Gerald Ford's speeches, if not from Richard Nixon's.

Preventing a crash.

But the 1980 budget, which must be enacted and not merely applauded, presents a more serious challenge to Carter's new foundations. (Fiscal year 1980 begins Oct. 1, 1979.) Since early fall, Carter has faced an economic crisis that seemed to call either

for a planned recession, which would have to be achieved by drastic budget cuts and tight money policies, or for mandatory wage, price, credit and investment controls.

European bankers and governments were threatening to unload the \$450 billion in Eurodollars that they held—a move that could have precipitated a world crash. Carter was therefore forced to take measures that would assure Western Europe that he was serious about stopping inflation.

Both because he feared political unpopularity and because he does, in contrast to Ford, share the traditional Democratic commitment to the poor, Carter refused to opt for a recession. But he also refused to venture into state capitalist waters.

Instead, he and the Federal Reserve chief G. William Miller decided on a compromise plan that would, they hoped, produce a slowdown but not a recession. This plan relied on wage-price guideposts rather than controls, a budget with a slightly smaller deficit than last year's and somewhat higher interest rates.

The federal budget cuts were probably the least important of these measures in actually curtailing inflation. Partly because his Joint Chiefs of Staff seem to have sold him on the danger of the Soviet arms build-up, and partly because he wants to use weapons spending to sell SALT, Carter committed himself to a real 3 percent increase in the defense budget. Had he then simply kept social pro-

grams at their current level, the deficit would have exceeded last year's and he would have risked the ire of Western Europe, as well as of his corporate advisers, who are convinced that social spending takes money out of their hands. So Carter settled on a 7.7 percent increase in the 1980 budget, compared with 9.4 percent for 1979, and a \$29 billion deficit compared with \$37.4 billion for 1979. To achieve these goals, he had to reduce social spending \$12 to \$15 billion for 1980.

Carter's strategy for cuts was dictated by the popularity of programs and also by the degree to which they threatened private initiative. CETA and Amtrak were attractive targets on both counts. Both conflicted with private initiative, and both were suspected of waste and corruption. To replace the 300,000 CETA and summer jobs he eliminated, Carter proposed giving an employment tax credit to private employers who hire the "hard-core" unemployed.

Carter also picked on federal employees, whose wage increase he promised to keep at 5.5 percent, and hospital costs, which he again proposed to contain.

Carter probably would have liked to avoid the \$600 million in Social Security cuts proposed in his budget, but insiders report that he was outsmarted by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano. Forced to prioritize his department's budget, Califano placed health and education funds above Social Security funds in the expectation that Congress would refuse to go along with the Social Security cuts anyway.

Liberals get the bones.

The budget now goes to the House and Senate Budget Committee, which, based on figures submitted from the relevant committees, will submit an overall appropriations target by May 15. Once that target is accepted, Congress can begin filling in specific appropriations for M-X missiles, solar generators or dental school loans.

The Republicans will let the Democrats fight it out among themselves and use their votes to force concessions from the Democratic "moderates." They successfully followed this strategy in transforming Carter's 1978 tax reform proposal into the pro-business Revenue Act of 1978.

Continued on page 8.



California labor leader John Henning attacks "environmental extremists" at National Air Quality Conference.

ECOLOGY AND JOBS

Industry confers to repeal Clean Air

By David Talbot

SAN FRANCISCO

IF THIS COUNTRY ADOPTS A NO-growth posture, what happens to the minorities and poor who did not get into the mainstream? If you stop enlarging the pie, what happens to the person who wants a bigger slice? It means he has to take it from someone else, and that makes class warfare more likely—something we have never had in this country, and which I wouldn't want to see," Robert Krueger, a former Texas congressman narrowly defeated by John Tower in last November's Senate race, told 300 industry representatives at a conference to map a strategy for the revision of the Clean Air Act.

The country's major industrial polluters gathered in San Francisco on Jan. 15-16 at a conference sponsored by the California Council for Environmental and Economic Balance. Representatives from oil, chemicals, auto, steel, mining, construction and the paper industries attended, along with labor leaders, technical experts and former government officials.

Though environmental groups were not invited to the conference, they man-

aged to make their presence felt. At an early morning press conference on Jan. 15, environmentalists attacked the industry gathering as a "pro-pollution rally" designed to gut the Clean Air Act. "If the special interests want to get an act together for their hatchet work in Congress," said Steve Pearlman, of the Washington-based Environmental Action, "then public interest groups are prepared to play, too. We'll seek amendments to close the present loopholes and ambiguities that are allowing some of these corporations and states to continue poisoning the public."

Speakers at the conference complained that air quality standards established by the act are too strict, that the act's enforcement measures are "Draconian" and threaten to stifle economic growth.

Under the 1977 amendments, each state is required to submit a clean-up plan to the Environmental Protection Agency. If a state fails, by July 1, to obtain approval of its plan from the EPA, stiff sanctions will be imposed. The one most feared by industry is denial of construction permits.

Labor rep angry.

The angriest speech was delivered by John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer

Continued on page 18.

MINIMUM WAGE

Pro-business groups seek increase rollback

By A. Lin Newmann

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROJECTED INCREASES IN THE minimum wage, already considered sub-par by the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations, have become the target of attacks by conservative members of Congress and pro-business groups. This year will see the reintroduction of controversial proposals to defer the scheduled increases and provide for a youth differential—a sub-minimum wage for teen-agers—on grounds of inflationary pressures and high youth unemployment.

In 1977, the minimum wage law—the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—was amended by Congress to provide for regular increases in the minimum wage over a four-year period. Beginning in 1978 the wage was increased from \$2.30 an hour to \$2.65, as of January 1979 it has increased to \$2.90, and by 1981 it is scheduled to reach \$3.35.

The attacks in the past have focused on the effect of the minimum wage on employment in general. But the focus has changed, at least in part because of the demonstration that the minimum does not affect employment negatively.

Sen. John Tower (R-TX) is reintroducing a measure that failed to defer the increase in the last Congress. Tower proposes to stall the increases for one year, thereby delaying the maximum level until 1982. Proponents of the Tower plan cite U.S. Chamber of Commerce statistics that assert that the slowdown would reduce the inflation rate by 1.6 percent nationwide.

However, according to Clara Schloss, a 25-year veteran of the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor and currently a consultant on the minimum wage to the AFL-CIO, these figures are based on spurious data.

"They applied their factors to the population at large, not to the work force," she explained. "For example, they say black teenagers are adversely affected but, according to their figures, there are more black teenagers losing jobs than there are black teenagers."

The annual report of the Secretary of Labor on the impact of the minimum wage backs up the contention that the minimum is not overtly inflationary since it affects only 0.3 percent of the wage bill for the year. Representative Abner Mikva (D-IL) told IN THESE TIMES that "there is no hard evidence to support the contention of the groups opposing the increases."

Sen. John Tower (R-TX) is reintroducing a bill to defer scheduled increases for lowest paid workers, most of whom are teenagers.

The second part of the Tower proposal, and the one rated a better chance to succeed, would exempt youth on the grounds that the minimum tends to decrease the number of youths, especially blacks, who are able to find jobs. "It basically hurts the minority kids," said an aide to Sen. Tower. This proposal is also based on COC data.

But what the COC and other supporters of the measure fail to mention is that support for the deferral is very strong among operators of fast-food chains whose major labor force is under 21. They would benefit enormously by the removal of young workers from coverage.

J. Willard Marriott, for example, whose Marriott Corporation operates a number of large fast-food outlets, decries the minimum wage in the latest issue of *Fortune Magazine*. Despite the ruin Marriott predicts, however, his company's book value per share of stock has increased, according to the Standard and Poor index, from \$2.70 in 1969 to \$10.76 in 1978.

Mikva said, "There is absolutely no evidence to support the theory that employers are not hiring youth because of the minimum wage." Schloss cited figures based on government data that show that there has been a net decline in black teenage unemployment of 22,000 since 1977 and while the situation remains severe, the 34.9 percent unemployment figure for that group is down from 38.3 per-

cent in December 1977.

"If you are going to defer youth," she asked, "why not defer women or blacks or Vietnam veterans, they all have high unemployment rates?"

Labor Department opposition.

The Department of Labor bases its opposition to the deferral proposal "on the premise that it would result in substitu-

tion of teenage labor for adult labor."

Mikva was more to the point, saying, "The idea that they just hire youth to exploit them is the reason for the minimum wage in the first place. It would be monstrous for the poor to bear the brunt of the attack on inflation."

President Carter, despite rumors of pressure within the administration to support a youth differential, stated in a December 13 meeting with the Business Council: "So far as I am concerned, I have no plans to exclude young people from the minimum wage."

Schloss further cited a 1970 study by the Department of Labor, commissioned by then Secretary George Shultz, that tried but couldn't find a link between the minimum wage and youth unemployment. "We tried in every kind of regression analysis possible," she said. "There is simply no connection."

Of course, the offensive by conservative leaders is clouding much of the real issue—the protection of the poor, what the minimum wage was designed to do. It has not done a very adequate job. In 1967, the minimum wage was \$1.40 compared to the 1978 rate of \$2.65, but in the same period inflation has more than doubled.

"The minimum wage is actually less now," said Schloss. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the lowest subsistence budget for a family of four in 1978 was \$11,653. A full-time minimum wage earner brought home \$5,512 in 1978. In

fact, the poverty line hourly wage in November 1978 was \$3.31. "This is a problem if you believe the minimum wage should give better than poverty earnings," commented Schloss.

Poor get burden.

What it comes down to is that opponents of the current standards are asking the poorest persons in the society to bear an even greater burden than they already are in the name of inflation. Of course, many congressional offices will cite the fact that their mail and wires are running against the minimum wage. And, as Schloss points out, "these [poor] people have no voice; they are not sending telegrams and lobbying Congress." Mikva stressed that "the people who work at minimum wage do not have unions to bargain for them," and that the purpose of the Fair Labor Standards Act was to protect the vulnerable.

It is unfortunate that oppositionist thinking will dominate congressional debate on the issue for the next several months at a time when what is needed is increase not defense of current legislation. In his 1977 testimony before the Senate Human Resources Committee, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, asserted that, "The minimum wage should not be the poverty wage."

He stressed the need for indexing the wage so that it would always be at 60 percent of the average manufacturing wage. Industry is opposed to indexing on the grounds that it would be unbearably inflationary, despite the fact that the average manufacturing wage in December 1978 was \$6.45, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

For the immediate future, given the conservative mood of Congress and the inability of the administration to address inflation by trimming waste off the defense budget rather than our shrinking social welfare agenda, the Tower proposals or something similar may have a chance of passage. It would be sad indeed if the poor are once again singled out for special treatment in the battle against inflation, a battle they cannot win but one they would surely lose.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Pro-choice groups rally to defend gains

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

WE'RE LAUNCHING OUR spring offensive for reproductive rights," announced Harriet Cohen, of the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, at a New York rally sponsored by CARASA, NOW-New York and Catholics for a Free Choice.

This rally was one of numerous events around the country by pro-choice people including speak-outs in Washington, D.C., and Stanford, Calif., pro-choice signature ads in Texas and Colorado, anti-constitutional convention lobbying days in Iowa, North Dakota and Mississippi, and candlelight vigils at the state capitals of Connecticut, Illinois and Ohio.

Citizens of Minnesota, Hawaii, Massachusetts and New Jersey massed in their state capitols to lobby, while Californians presented a "Pandora's Box" of abortion facts to lawmakers. In New Mexico, activists presented their representatives with scrolls printed with the message, "Preserve religious liberty."

Religious coalitions in Rhode Island and Illinois held ecumenical services, and dozens of ministers in upstate New York preached pro-choice sermons.

Missouri was the site of the signing of a "Declaration of Reproductive Independence," and a mock trial of Jimmy Carter for crimes against women.

In Florida, a group of abortion providers filed litigation challenging a restrictive clinic licensing law.

Five hundred gathered near New York University to hear Kate Millett declare that women are "victims of biology.... Nothing is so attached to economic rights as women's rights to control their own bodies."

This theme was echoed by State Senator Carl McCall, who argued that those opposed to Medicaid-funded abortions "are committed to mandatory motherhood for the poor but freedom of choice...for the rich."

At the Washington, D.C., speakout, several speakers urged pro-choice to do more than hold the line on current rights. "We need to go beyond the issue of making abortion legal and make it accessible," said Margarita Suarez, of SER, a national Latino organization. Jean Marshall Clark, of Virginia NOW, said, "We have to require of our government a commitment to our right to choose abortion and our right to adequate contraception and family planning."

Anti-abortionists.

After pro-choicers demanded their rights on Friday and Saturday, anti-abortionists talked and practiced politics on Monday. When 30,000 of the faithful rallied on the Capitol steps in Washington, speakers mixed religious piety with glee at their legislative and electoral victories of the last year.

Anti-abortionists contributed significantly to the narrow defeat of two liberal Democratic Senate candidates, Dick Clark of Iowa and Don Fraser of Minnesota, who had been expected to win.

They also found sponsors for 95 bills in the last (95th) Congress, either limiting federal funds and studies of abortion, or proposing various constitutional amendments.

Six pertinent bills or amendments were passed—all in October 1978. They include: prohibiting use for abortions of funds appropriated for foreign assistance, military personnel, the Peace Corps, labor, HEW and health research in other countries.

In addition, the Civil Rights Commission was prohibited from studying or collecting information about governmental laws or policies on abortions (a backlash to a major study on abortion published by the Commission in 1975, authored by Mary Berry, currently Assistant Secretary for Education).



Kate Millett, in New York, says women are victims of biology.

Nibbling away rights.

According to Janet Benshoof, an attorney with the ACLU Reproductive Freedom project, the anti-abortionists have been nibbling away at reproductive rights at the state level as well.

She said that 41 states have statutes limiting abortion funding for women. Nine of them are under injunctions but, in the remaining, Medicaid abortions have de-

clined by 99 percent since 1976. Other states have "informed consent" laws requiring that a woman be advised of the physical characteristics of a fetus before signing permission for an abortion to be performed. Thirteen states have passed calls for a constitutional convention to consider a human life amendment. The Constitution requires 34 states to call a constitutional convention.

MARITAL RAPE

Feminists disagree on Rideout case

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

THE ONLY CONSENSUS AMONG feminist responses to John Rideout's acquittal on charges of raping his wife, Greta, and their subsequent reconciliation was that there was really very little to agree about. Nan D. Hunter, an attorney with a feminist law firm in Washington, D.C., told IN THESE TIMES, "The most significant thing about the Rideout case is its insignificance. It sets no precedent. It neither makes new law nor unmakes the Oregon law under which it was brought. It was seized upon by the media merely because it was the first case of its kind, but it has no legal bearing on a future case."

But another lawyer in her "collective," Judith Holmes, who is also a co-ordinator of the D.C. Area Feminist Alliance, asserted that "the prosecutors knew this was a test case, and wouldn't have taken it to trial if they didn't think they had a good case. The acquittal probably means there won't be any more cases like this for a while."

"No movement can choose its test cases or the individuals involved; they just happen," asserted Mary Ann Lagen, co-director of New Responses Inc., a non-profit women's resource organization on violence against women. "The unfortunate thing about the Rideout case," she stated, "is that it was a media event that the press tried to make into a movement event. The movement didn't create this case, nor did it choose to focus attention on it."

"Unlike the JoAnn Little case, even the victim sought neither movement support nor public attention." She stated that she has received some 200 calls from reporters in the last six weeks, most of which have tried to get an authoritative movement interpretation of a case for which there is "no such thing."

Several people interviewed felt the potential 20-year sentence was a deterrent to conviction in any rape case. Marge Gates, lawyer and co-director of the Center for Women Policy Studies, currently providing technical assistance to programs

addressing the problems of family violence on a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grant, feels that "the problem with this case and with all of this kind is that a jury won't want to give a man 20 years, of which he might serve seven, for forcing his wife to have intercourse with him."

"The jury will feel that what was wrong was the force and not the intercourse; therefore he should be punished for assault and not for rape. Some people still feel men have a right to have intercourse with their wives."

20 years too severe.

This sentiment was echoed by another attorney, Jackson Rose, in practice in Arlington, Va. "Attaching a severe penalty to rape is imposing a 17th-century valuation of virginity and makes it difficult to get convictions. It's hard to apply straight tort law in a marriage because the relationships are not clearly defined. Belita Cowan, executive director of the National Women's Health Network, similarly felt "the mandatory 20-year sentence is a deterrent both to justice and to conviction, leaving the victim unprotected."

Yet Lagen, who followed the case closely, did not feel a severe sentence made any difference in conviction. "The chances of anybody actually serving 20 years is very small. If convicted he might have done two years at most."

She does not feel bringing charges of assault would be an effective substitute because "you can't get husbands charged with assault in this country." She cited one study that showed wives were only successful about 10 percent of the time in getting police to charge their husbands with assault.

Lagen further asserted that Rideout's acquittal, despite his admitting intercourse with Greta, was not a result of the potential 20-year sentence, but was typical of rape cases.

Rape juries more often evaluate the credibility of the participants than the evidence, she said. They frequently ask whether the victim deserved what happened to her, and despite the greater than

Anti-abortionists have achieved these victories through intensive lobbying campaigns typified by the thousands of people who carried red roses and voting records into congressional offices before and after the rally in Washington.

Although they called themselves proliferators, they have resisted all efforts to broaden their concerns to other issues affecting the quality and existence of life, such as eliminating the death penalty and providing sex education.

A 1976-77 study of church attenders in 43 Catholic parishes indicates why. When positions on abortion were compared with positions on other "life issues"—the death penalty, racial equality and the military—there was little relationship. But there was a strong relationship between opposition to abortion and opposition to birth control, remarriage after divorce, priestly celibacy and premarital sex.

This lack of tolerance for different life styles and different views was reflected in the cover statement for the program journal of the March for Life by its president, Nellie Gray: "After six years of trying to educate and persuade and defend against the abortionists' outrageous bold defiance of human decency, it is clear that abortionists—driven by their megalomania—will not be persuaded by logic, facts, moral arguments—they will understand only the force of being told clearly that their hideous activities will not be tolerated in our precious society."

usual corroborating evidence, the Rideout jury evaluated Greta more than John.

Only a symbol.

Several women felt that legislation was little more than a symbolic answer to the problem of rape in marriage—or out. Holmes stated that "the juries always seem to think the woman consented. This kind of legislation that allows women to prosecute their husbands for rape is not the answer. Smashing the patriarchy is the answer."

Gerry Fifer of the Women's Martial Arts Union of New York City pointed out, "If women were trained in self-defense, it's unlikely there would have been a rape case. After all, he was unarmed."

Nonetheless, both agreed with Gates that "the anti-rape law is necessary to refute the attitude that a man has a right to have intercourse with his wife against her will. Sexual assault should always be an offense."

There was, in other words, no consensus whether the acquittal and the reconciliation would inhibit further cases or similar legislation in other states. Lagen said she expected the acquittal to dissuade legislatures from abolishing spousal immunity in rape, but calls from legislative aides in California and Michigan alerted her to the fact that similar laws were going to be introduced in those states in this session.

"It's real hard to be sympathetic with that woman in light of her reconciliation," Holmes said. "But a lot of the causes of wife abuse are emotional and financial dependency. It's really more sad than anything else."

Alexa Freeman, editor of *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly*, said the "reconciliation is not unusual and it points to a weakness in contemporary analysis: that the relationship between sexuality and violence and women's oppression and male/female interdependence are still not completely understood." But Gerry Fifer thinks she understands. "Why did she take him back after he beat her up? Given her economic options, did she have any choice?"

FARM CONFERENCE

Monopoly control of farms protested

By Craig T. Canan

NASHVILLE

HOW THE BIG LANDOWNERS and processors have been pulling in heavy profits at the expense of small farmers was the theme of the first annual New Farm Policies conference convened here Jan. 12 by the Washington, D.C.-based Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies hosted by the Agricultural Marketing Project.

Some 500 progressive family farmers, state and local lawmakers, urban consumers and land reformers consulted in three days of presentations and workshops. They came from nearly every state and Canada to fight the domestic agribusiness firms and their multinational counterparts.

Conference executive director Lee Webb told IN THESE TIMES: "In the agriculture area one of the most serious problems of farmers and consumers alike is the problem of corporate control and ownership of agriculture; the problems of corporations moving in and dominating the whole food processing industry; and the role of the big multinational corporations in controlling the export market for grains."

Jim Hightower, author and editor of the *Texas Observer*, led off the anti-corporate sentiment of the conference by observing that "food prices have increased 125 percent in the last decade and recent studies show as much as a \$12 billion overcharge on food by the big people—the monopolies—in 1975."

"It is not the farmer or the farmworker who is making it; the heavy profits go to the big fellows—the big landowners and the big processor."

Monopoly control.

"All basic farm products are monopoly-controlled," he stated. "Five firms control 90 percent of all the grains that are shipped in the world. Fifteen firms control 90 percent of all cotton that is shipped in the world."

Hightower told how the beer industry is an example of the increasing grip of monopoly. "In 1960," he said, "there were 170 breweries in the U.S. and there are 46 today. Five breweries—Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Schlitz, Pabst and Coors—control 72 percent of the market today. Busch and Miller, everybody agrees, are headed toward a two-firm monopoly with about 80 percent of the national market."

"It's over in beer," he sighed. "The Federal Trade Commission has let this happen. In the last 25 years the good giant, Beatrice Foods, bought 400 companies. These takeovers made Beatrice a \$6.4 billion a year conglomerate making it among the largest 24 industrial corporations in America."

Hightower concluded with a note on excess profits. "In the period from 1965 to date the percentage of the total profits gained by the top 50 food manufacturing corporations increased 40 percent from half to 90 percent of the profit."

The other two featured speakers Saturday joined in denouncing the growing share of farm land controlled by big corporations and multinational concerns.

Lee Webb, executive director of the Conference also told IN THESE TIMES that foreign control is a concern. Webb explained that Carter's Treasury Department "allowed investors of foreign nations to purchase family farm land in the U.S. with the added incentive of tax breaks. British investors, in particular, were given tax advantages in ownership of agricultural land that were not enjoyed by American citizens."

The Agriculture Project of the Conference organized the session to "stimulate

Food prices have increased 125 percent since 1969, and the big corporations have raked in \$12 billion in overcharges.

and broaden efforts to change agriculture and food policy at the state and local level," Webb said.

Workshops.

The weekend conference was structured around workshops that dealt with nearly every basic issue related to the farm movement.

A recent victory in Alabama was offered as an example of winning techniques in several workshops. A coalition of dozens of different local groups persuaded successful gubernatorial candidate Fob James to call for food sales tax reform in his state.

Merle Hansen, American Agriculture Movement member and vice-president of the U.S. Farmers' Association, stated



his support for federal legislation in support of farm prices in a key presentation.

"This legislation would provide for 90 percent of parity price supports on the basic commodities with non-recourse loans," Hansen observed. "For years farmers received 98.2 percent of parity and there was reasonably priced food for the consumer, economy for the taxpayer, and the government was never respected more."

Support was pledged for the National

Land for People's 160-acre family farm movement, the Family Farm Act, and the national Libby's boycott spearheaded by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Toledo, Ohio.

Cynthia Guyer, coordinator of the Agriculture Project, summed up the feelings of the participants: "The people here pledged to go back to their communities and redouble their work toward public policy that will democratize the food production and distribution system." ■

STEELHAULERS

Contempt order forces end to strike

By David Moberg

AFEDERAL JUDGE'S contempt order forced striking steel haulers back into their rigs after nine weeks of protest, but Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers president William J. Hill believed that they had already been "most successful" in pressing their demands.

FASH at least proved to doubters that they still had the power to disrupt the transport of steel by the roughly 30,000 truckers who own their own expensive equipment but work for licensed carrier firms, who in turn are subordinated to the big steel companies.

Some companies reported that as much as 85 percent of their steel hauling had been stopped. U.S. Steel, who filed the successful suit, along with six other steel companies, admitted not being able to deliver hundreds of thousands of tons of steel during the first month of the strike, which started Nov. 11 (ITT, Nov. 22) and ended the third week of January.

"We had a good impact," FASH national organizer George Sullivan says. "We caused a hell of a mess. The floors are jammed with steel at the mills."

FASH started in 1967 as a dissident group within the Teamsters, who represent roughly one-third of the steelhaulers. Now it is also a separate labor organization with a few small contracts. Its principal aim is to break steel haulers away from the Teamsters and organize the rest of the drivers into a separate union.

FASH has been hampered by rulings that all carriers party to the Teamsters Master Freight Agreement constitute a single bargaining unit. To decertify the Teamsters as the legitimate representative at any one company, FASH would have to win for the whole industry.

Also, owner-operators are considered independent businessmen and not employees, except when working for a company with a union contract that requires them to join the union. Their organization is thus considered a violation of anti-trust laws.

As a result of their strike, Rep. Frank Thompson (D-NJ), chairman of the House Labor-Management Relations subcommittee, has promised to introduce legislation this year that would extend collective bargaining rights to owner-operators who lease their rigs to carriers with Interstate Commerce Commission certificates. That would open up much of the industry to organizing by FASH or the Teamsters.

FASH, however, hopes to win some

The strike may pressure Teamsters to improve their contract rider covering steel haulers.

more contracts before then by pressing decertification elections at ten or more carriers now represented by the Teamsters. They are concentrating on workplaces where they believe they have majority support and the employer has withdrawn from the Master Freight Agreement, negotiations for which started formally last week.

Hill believes that the strike will pressure the Teamsters to improve their special contract "rider" covering steel haulers, perhaps to restore to truckers the flat rate pay of 75 percent of shipping charges, which was cut in the last contract. That would raise their pay substantially and continue to boost it in tandem with each freight increase.

"I think the strike has put a lot of pressure on [the Teamsters] to do something for these guys or you'll see a replay, another strike," Hill says.

FASH believes that the strike will also give impetus to other actions that would benefit truckers: a request by steel carriers for higher rates that was filed in early January, establishment of uniform leases with legal safeguards for drivers, federal approval of a uniform 80,000-pound weight limit for trucks (some states now have lower limits), and changes in inspection

requirements that now result in drivers putting in extra "deadhead" miles with empty trucks, for example.

Membership grew.

Although Hill admits that FASH support was slipping toward the end of their strike, FASH leaders claim that their membership grew substantially over the past couple of months and four new chapters were formed, reversing the organization's decline in recent years.

Sullivan believes that many new drivers—in an industry that Hill says has high turnover—were taught by the strike that they had one principal common enemy, the big steel companies. "We'd had difficulty for some time convincing people that U.S. Steel, not the carriers, not the union, not the drivers, controls shipping," he says. But the education involved some harsh force in keeping other truckers off the road.

"It was a violent strike," Sullivan says. "In terms of people getting hurt it wasn't bad. This was the first we had where no people got killed, but there were people shooting and more equipment was damaged."

At the heart of the FASH dilemma is their effort to establish that they are a legally constituted labor organization. Judge Louis Rosenberg, who ruled that FASH was in contempt of a continuing injunction issued in 1971, admitted that FASH was partly a labor organization—where it had contracts—but not for the remainder of its members, even though those people are almost all Teamsters. Consequently, the injunction was issued on the grounds, supposedly forbidden by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, that the truckers constituted an anti-trust conspiracy. The union is appealing Fosenberg's decision.

"This injunction is an anachronism," FASH attorney Paul Boas says. "It was things like this that got Eugene Debs thrown in jail. I'm beginning to lose faith in the ability of working persons to win relief through courts in this country. The idea of this not being considered a labor dispute is outrageous." ■

UNIONIZING THE SOUTH

Shipbuilding firm refuses to bargain

By David Moberg

THE BATTLELINES WERE BEING drawn last week for a massive confrontation of shipyard workers and a major conglomerate that may become a landmark in the drive to unionize the South and a catalyst to labor law reform.

A year ago workers at the Newport News, Va., Shipbuilding Company, a firm established in 1886 but taken over in 1969 by Tenneco, voted to throw out their independent union with close company ties in favor of representation by the United Steelworkers by a vote of 9,093 to 7,548.

To celebrate the first anniversary of that decision, Newport News workers almost certainly will be on strike to force the company to bargain with their union. The company had delayed official certification of the Steelworkers as bargaining agent until Oct. 27, when the National Labor Relations Board finally rejected its charges of unfair labor practices in the election. Then the company challenged the certification in court, a process that could—with appeals—take many months.

Calling Tenneco and Newport News Shipbuilding "the J.P. Stevens of industrial employers in the South," the Steelworkers concluded that the company was committed to blocking their representation of the 19,000 workers at the shipyards, one of the largest industrial units in the country and a major contractor for the Navy.

Already the union had confronted a hard-nosed management at Newport News in an unfair labor practice strike by designers at the shipyards that started in April 1977 and continues to this day.

The union has also charged the company with harassment of the production and maintenance workers at the shipyard, including the firing of over 100 workers since certification in October. None of them had a chance to file a grievance, since neither the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, originally formed as a company union, nor the Steelworkers is now recognized by the company.

Strike date Jan. 31.

When workers go out on strike midnight Jan. 31—and Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride said in Chicago last week that he sees "no visible evidence that the company is willing to bargain"—they will face a company that appears prepared to break their strike. The union claims that Newport News management has stockpiled weapons, including .38 revolvers, automatic weapons and a water cannon, and has trained and expanded its security forces in order to keep the yard gates open. Gov. John N. Dalton has pledged use of the state police to assist the company in permitting strikebreakers to cross the union picket line.

"This will take us back to the '30s, when companies engaged in strike-breaking," McBride said. "They are going to continue to resist the law of the land, to rely on technicalities and to try delaying tactics and hope the union dies on the vine. Our union is not going to die on the vine." McBride worried that the company will try to provoke violence, then seek an injunction limiting picketing and try to bring in more strike-breakers.

"I anticipate sleepless nights and sacrifice on the part of the strikers," McBride said, explaining that the union would provide nearly half a million dollars a week in strike benefits to be divided among local members according to need. "I expect labor history will be written and that we will have a contract with Newport News."

Since virtually all of the work at the huge shipyard in the rapidly growing Norfolk region is done for the U.S. government, the Carter administration will inevitably be drawn into any dispute. Already the union has asked Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall to provide a meeting place for the company and union repre-

sentatives, but Newport News management refused to show up at the Dec. 28 meeting in Washington. McBride has met with the Secretary of the Navy and

got another agency [the Navy] giving contracts to law violators. We ought to have one government."

McBride also observed that "compan-

"They will take us back to the '30s,"

Lloyd McBride of the Steelworkers warns.

The union is preparing for provocation and violence. It won't die on the vine, he says.

has detailed Steelworker grievances to President Carter in a Jan. 9 letter.

Role of the feds.

Although the administration has not been asked to take any direct action, union officials are quick to point out the contradictory role of the federal government in such a situation. "It's ironic that we've got one government agency [the National Labor Relations Board] that says we're the collective bargaining agent and ought to be recognized," district 35 director Bruce Thrasher says, "and we've

ies can avoid living up to the law and still enjoy substantial government contracts," while "at the same time a company not living up to the voluntary wage guidelines will be denied contracts."

Although Tenneco has not been an extraordinary anti-union corporation in many of its other divisions, it has apparently decided to make a tough stand in this conservative, right-to-work, anti-union state, which ranks 44th in the nation in percentage of employees in unions (13.8 percent were organized in 1974).

The union's strength has grown sub-

stantially since certification and again since the strike was authorized at a mass rally on Dec. 10. Now over 13,000 workers have signed Steelworker cards.

The impact of a successful strike by this fairly skilled industrial workforce, with 40-45 percent black workers and a sizeable minority of women, would clearly be felt throughout the South, especially if a dramatic, symbolic confrontation develops. In that case, Congress and the President may also be tested on their loyalties. McBride already is talking about calling for a congressional investigation if Newport News continues to refuse to bargain.

Furthermore, Thrasher adds, "Tenneco is a typical example of the need for labor law reform in this country. This is proof positive that a company that wants to violate the law can do it with impunity. Tenneco can just thumb its nose at the law now. It seemed labor law reform might not come up again this year. Before we get through, however, Tenneco may be responsible for getting labor law reform through Congress this year."

SOLAR

Government subsidizes community training

By Karen Polk

NEW YORK

A UNIQUE COALITION OF three federal agencies, the Department of Energy, Department of Labor and the Community Services Administration, has designed a program to subsidize the installation of solar hot water and space heating systems in low-income and disadvantaged communities across the nation. The construction of up to 700 systems will be carried out by individuals from each community who will be trained in solar technology during the course of the program.

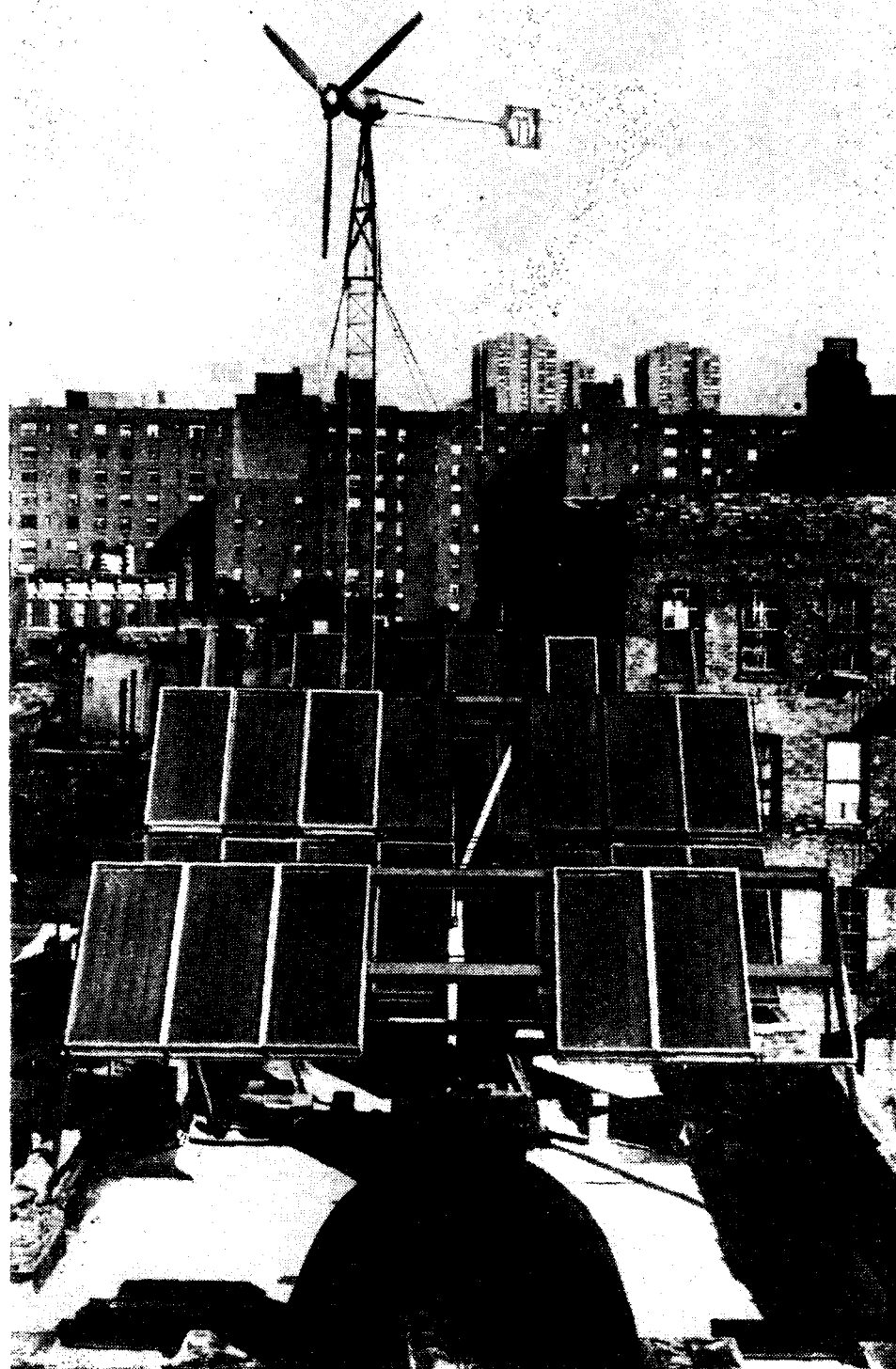
The SUEDE project (Solar Utilization/Economic Development and Employment for low income housing) was designed to investigate linkages between the employment of individuals in the expanding solar trade and the economic development of depressed communities, rural and urban.

By providing on-the-job training in solar technology, the program would create the potential opportunity for individuals from disadvantaged communities to enter a new and expanding industry at its early stages of development. Solar economists predict that, given the solar installation tax incentive of the national energy tax bill and other recent federal policy initiatives, the solar industry will expand to a \$20 billion business within the next 20 years.

The three agencies will each supply a portion of a \$3.6 million total that will be distributed among ten sponsor groups selected from CSA regions. These include groups in New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Texas, Kansas, Montana, California and Oregon. The programs should begin this month and are scheduled for completion in December.

A carefully constructed outline set forth by the three agencies requires that each sponsor group design solar hot water and space heating systems appropriate for use in tenant-owned and operated buildings.

The planners of the program have determined that these forms of solar power



A windmill and solar panels at 519 E. 11th Street in a New York City Energy Task Force project.

are the most cost-effective yet available on a small scale, and that the benefits derived from their use can make a more substantial impact in areas hardest hit by the rising costs of commercial power.

Involves locals.

The sponsor groups must also be responsible for the training of ten to 25 individuals from each area in solar technology and other skills such as construction, plumbing and wiring, related to the solar trade. During the actual construction period, sponsor groups are asked to utilize, wherever possible, the services of local manufacturers and suppliers of solar equipment or any other agency, institu-

tion or organization which might link the project more tangibly to the community.

They must also coordinate job placement and counseling services for their graduates upon completion of the projects. The objective is to integrate qualified solar mechanics into the business community in each area, using the solar market as a stimulus for local economic development.

In New York City, the selected sponsor group is the Energy Task Force, noted for its involvement in the design and construction of most of the solar projects already operating in the city. They will choose their candidates from home-

Continued on next page.

BERKELEY CITIZENS ACTION

Left regroups for Berkeley election

By Chuck Sherman & Dave Fogarty

BERKELEY, CALIF.

OVERCOMING INTERNAL disputes, Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA) has emerged from its January nominating convention with its best chance yet of wresting control of the city government.

BCA, a local left-wing grassroots coalition, the largest local political organization in California, grew out of the movements of the 1960s. It has sought unsuccessfully since 1971 to win a majority on the Berkeley City Council. In the past, it has been frustrated from reaching that goal by its own infighting and by a well-financed opposition coalition encompassing forces from conservative Republicans to moderate Democrats.

But the convention ending on Jan. 20 produced a strong, well-balanced slate of candidates and ended in such a moving crescendo of unity that political observers believe that BCA may finally achieve its elusive goal.

The convention did not accomplish its work without overcoming major problems. The organization was thrown into a turmoil in early January when its popular city councilmember, Loni Hancock, withdrew her mayoral candidacy. Hancock, who has worked for the last several years as a regional director of the federal anti-poverty agency ACTION, had sought approval from Washington for a job-sharing arrangement so she would have the time for mayoral duties. But, according to members of the BCA Steering Committee, approval for job-sharing was denied by White House political operatives, who have little desire to aid the hometown forces of potential presidential candidate Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), and who are close to the incumbent mayor, Warren Widener, a moderate black.

With consensus candidate Hancock out of the picture, John Denton, a 65-year-



Berkeley Citizens Action candidates (left to right) Guy Jones, John Denton, Council candidates; Gus Newport, mayoral candidate; Veronika Fuson, Council; Anna Rabkin, City Auditor.

In the face of a threatened deep split, Berkeley Citizens Action nominated Gus Newport by acclamation.

old white lawyer who is BCA's other incumbent council member, and Gus Newport, 43, a black activist and Labor Department employment analyst, announced their candidacies for the BCA mayoral nomination.

Two candidates contend.

Denton, an 18-year Berkeley resident with a strong record as a legal advocate for the poor and as a leader of the fight for open housing, had wide-ranging support for his candidacy, but his strongest

support came from moderate BCA members who stressed neighborhood issues and sought to make electoral inroads into the affluent hills section of Berkeley.

Newport, a relative newcomer to Berkeley politics, is an articulate and aggressive activist who received the support of the left wing of BCA and Congressman Ron Dellums. They felt it would be a serious strategic error for BCA to run a white male against an incumbent black mayor, and believed that a slate headed by Newport could gain votes in Berkeley's large black community.

The BCA nominating convention opened on Jan. 14 facing a deepening split between supporters of the two mayoral candidates.

In the keynote speech, Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) leader Tom Hayden noted the tensions, but predicted that they were "growth pains" and not "the death rattle of an outmoded organization."

The first ballot gave Newport slightly over half the votes of the more than 200

BCA members present, but the lead switched to Denton on later ballots. BCA rules require a two-thirds majority for nomination. After five hours and six ballots the convention was clearly deadlocked, with Denton well ahead but still short of the required two-thirds.

The convention decided to adjourn until the next weekend, amid rising emotions, deepening factionalism, and charges of backroom deals that seemed to threaten the very existence of the organization.

Truce expected.

During the week between sessions, the two factions stepped back from the brink. Away from the supercharged convention atmosphere, neither camp wished to destroy the organization over this issue. An agreement was made that whichever candidate had fewer votes on the second ballot after resumption of voting would withdraw in favor of the other.

The convention on Jan. 20 proved to be a love feast. On the first ballot, Newport led by a razor-thin 129 to 125. When his lead lengthened to 136 to 125 on the second ballot, Denton withdrew and moved Newport's nomination by acclamation. In short order, a city council slate was chosen consisting of Denton, City Auditor Florence McDonald, black graduate student Guy Jones and neighborhood leader Veronika Fukson.

With an impressive slate of candidates for school board and City Auditor already nominated, and having endorsed initiatives effectively to end enforcement of marijuana laws and to take city funds out of financial institutions doing business with South Africa, the convention ended on a note of unity and anticipation. Newport promised to conduct "the most dynamic and educational campaign the city has ever seen."

Organizationally, BCA will be better prepared for this April's city elections than ever before. Previous electoral coalitions were assembled only a few months before the elections, and had no real existence the rest of the time. After its defeat in the 1977 city elections, however, BCA transformed itself into a permanent membership organization to participate in state and national, as well as local elections, and to organize around community issues all year long.

State of the Union

Continued from page 3.

Republicans also plan to introduce a new version of the Kemp-Roth Bill, which will call for cutting taxes by 30 percent across the board (guess who benefits most from this), indexing tax brackets to the rate of inflation, and limiting government spending increases to 7 percent a year. The Republicans expect Carter will propose a tax cut in 1980, and they want to beat him to the punch.

The majority of Democrats can be expected to go along with the broad outlines of the Carter proposal, confining their objections to minor specifics. "The President is more or less going to have his way with his resolution," one House Budget Committee aide observed. "Liberals are going to have to be groveling for bones."

These bones, the aide noted, will large-

ly come out of the \$2.5 billion that will be released when Carter's wage insurance proposal is defeated.

Betty Bono, co-ordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, is pessimistic about the chance for any decreases in the defense budget. She is also pessimistic about any new support for a "transfer amendment" that would transfer defense funds to social services. "We've reached a plateau in Congress," she said. "We've been able to get 100 votes at most for a transfer amendment. And if anything, this Congress is worse."

Waiting for lefty.

But the left-wing and liberal Democrats have nevertheless begun organizing against the new budget. ADA has organized an Ad-Hoc Coalition of some 50 groups, which include religious organiza-

tions like the American Jewish Committee and the United Church of Christ, women's and minority organizations, interest groups like the National Rural Center, and labor organizations like the UAW, the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Since groups like the American Jewish Committee and the IUD will not agree to cutting the defense budget, the Coalition has had to concentrate its tack on the social spending cuts. This puts the Coalition, one participant noted, in the unenviable position of advocating greater spending and a larger deficit in the Congress clearly committed to the reverse.

The UAW is also going ahead with its efforts to organize a Progressive Alliance of labor, community, women's, minority and interest group organizations. They are considering a spring march on Washington to protest the budget.

Most liberals and left-wingers are expectantly waiting for 1980, when they hope their fortunes will improve. There are two big ifs: if there is a recession, and

if Teddy Kennedy runs.

If there is a recession, they argue, Carter will have to change direction and stimulate the economy. The question then, one congressional aide explained, will be whether to provide a stimulus through tax cuts, the path that Republicans and Jimmy "Free Enterprise" Carter will advocate, or to do so through direct job creation.

If Kennedy runs for president, then Carter will have to protect himself from the left, rather than assuming that the Democratic left will have to choose between him and an increasingly unpalatable Jerry Brown. Congress would also have to take note. "If Teddy Kennedy were to get in the race," House legislative aide Stephen Silbiger said, "these deep political thinkers are going to think liberalism is in again. It could mean at least 15 votes in the House."

For the present, however, many feel there is little that can be done. "Liberals should go invest in the stock market this year, or just go out to lunch," one Democratic activist advised.

Budget low-lights

Defense spending: The budget calls for a 3 percent real increase in defense spending. But because the Pentagon failed to spend \$75 billion that was previously appropriated, there will actually be close to a 6 percent real increase. In addition, because personnel costs will be held to the 5.5 percent federal wage guideline, the bulk of the increases will come in military hardware—for instance, a 43 percent increase in spending on missiles.

Energy: In his State of the Union address, Carter singled out solar energy development, and in his budget, solar expenditures are allowed to rise. But the increase from \$455 million to \$730 million has to be weighed against last year's cuts, the \$1 billion that solar advocates asked for, and the proportionately great-

er amount allotted for nuclear energy.

"The increase is not enough to make a difference," George Zachary, of *Critical Mass*, commented. Zachary argues that Carter is still counting on nuclear energy, but that he is holding out until acceptable waste disposal techniques can be developed. The budget for nuclear waste disposal doubled from \$485 to \$925 million.

Anti-trust enforcement: In his State of the Union address, Carter called for fighting inflation "through improvements in better enforcement of anti-trust laws." But in his law-enforcement budget, \$4 million and 38 positions are cut from the Justice Department's anti-trust division.

—John Judis

Community solar power

Continued from page 7.

steading/sweat-equity housing groups to install solar collectors on selected homesteader dwellings. The Energy Task Force has sponsored similar projects in the past and can illustrate the successful use of solar power by groups with limited resources.

David Norris, the SUEDE program coordinator for ETF, described their programs as providing the most appropriate energy technology at the point of greatest need in the most labor intensive, job-producing, fuel-saving manner possible.

Studies by local housing organizations in the city have shown that, in areas such as the Lower East Side, utility costs have

figured heavily in the escalation of operating expenses which often force landlords to abandon their buildings. Homesteading groups have therefore already begun to explore the use of various alternative energy technologies.

One drawback in the New York City project, as Norris explained it, is that the existing solar business market in the metropolitan area is small indeed, and though every effort is being made to utilize available resources, there is no guarantee that, after a year's time, there will be sufficient demand in the job market to absorb the SUEDE graduates, or that the jobs will be located within communities that could best benefit from them.

IN THE WORLD

By Eric Leif Davin

THE ANTAGONISM OF THE Iranians toward China and Russia is directed not so much against socialism as against the foreign powers who seek to fish in the troubled waters of their country, Parvin Najafi told *IN THESE TIMES*.

Najafi is a staff writer for *Payam Daresjoo*, a socialist newsweekly published in New York City and circulated widely in Iran. Najafi said that the newspaper's readers consist largely of the 30,000 Iranian students and 50,000 expatriates living throughout the U.S. The paper is apparently read in the U.S., distributed in Europe, and then smuggled into Iran.

Najafi pointed out that after the 1906 revolution in her country, which overthrew a former Shah and introduced a constitutional government, Russia occupied the northern provinces of Iran and helped place the present Shah's father, Riza Shah, on the Peacock Throne of Iran.

After the 1953 revolution, which ousted the old Shah and established another constitutional democracy, Najafi went on to say, the Russians cooperated with the American CIA in destabilizing the country and placing the present Shah in power. Nor, she said, have the Russians ever criticized the Shah. Their Persian language radio programs beamed into Iran, she said, sound exactly like the Voice of America.

China, she continued, is just as bad. Recently, while blood flowed in the streets and the Shah's troops machine-gunned demonstrators, the Premier of China toured Iran on a state visit and toasted the Shah while praising him for his benevolent rule. So, she said, the Iranian people see themselves as at war with the entire world, East and West.

Not anti-socialist.

However, Najafi insisted that this anti-interventionist attitude must not be confused with an anti-socialist attitude. This is an exciting and vibrant time for Iran, she maintained. In America, there seems to be a superstitious dread among the people when the word "socialism" is mentioned. Not so, she said, in the streets of Iran. There, people are searching, seeking, trying to decide what type of government they want. There is a vast new spirit of democracy sweeping across the land. People are open to discussing ideas,

An Iranian leftist says Shah's exit creates new spirit

Michael Carnevale



Parvin Najafi of the socialist newsweekly *PAYAM DARESJOO*.

all ideas, any ideas—and socialism is one of those ideas receiving the wide hearing at this turning point in Iranian history.

"I, myself," said Najafi, "have gone to the mosques to speak. People know me and know I'm not religious, yet they listen. They are receptive. Socialism has become a real possibility in Iran."

And, speaking of mosques and religious people, I asked Najafi about the conservative religious leaders who play such a significant role. Since they hold traditional Moslem views toward women, how did women like herself relate to these leaders?

The Western news media has overestimated their role, she said. "The wearing of the chador (the veil) by the women is only a protest. My cousin wears it, for the first time in her life. That does not mean she has adopted conservative views on the roles of women. No, what we want are civil liberties for all, freedom for all, including women. We want people's sovereignty. The religious leaders are only one element in a broad coalition of opposition groups. They are not the sole opposition."

"If anyone wants to return Iran to the Middle Ages," she said, "it is the American government that created the Shah."

No real advances.

Najafi criticized the belief that the Shah had introduced great advances for the women of Iran. "What are they," she asked, "but window dressing for foreign view? One of his great accomplishments was granting women the right to vote. But for what? For whom? There was no one to vote for. There was only the Shah and only his political party was legal. It was no advance at all."

Najafi paused and then smiled at me. "I have a suggestion for those in Washington who are so concerned about equal rights for Iranian women," she said. "Why not give equal rights to women in your own country and pass the ERA?"

Najafi predicted that the military "will not allow a civilian government to survive. They are the Shah's, body and soul. Every morning they pledge allegiance, not to the nation, but to the Shah. They are like Hitler's army in that way. As they charge the people in the streets they shout: 'Shah! Shah! Shah!'

"And then they kill."

"The military is indoctrinated. Their officers tell them the Shah is their beloved father. To them, he is the Shadow of God on Earth."

Tehran Ayatollah favors republic

"The Koran advises on social justice, government policies and economic matters."

By Nic Brink

AMSTERDAM

Nic Brink, a correspondent for *DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER*, a Dutch newspaper, returned to Amsterdam last week with exclusive interviews from Iran. Following is an excerpt from one of them, the religious leader of Tehran.

The Ayatollah Taleghani is to Tehran what Khomeini is to the whole of Iran and what Shariat-Madari is to the holy city of Qom, an uncontested religious leader with enormous authority. He has spent four years behind bars as a political prisoner, where he was seriously mistreated (his daughter was raped before his eyes) and was released only a couple of weeks ago.

The interview, from which the following excerpts are printed, took place on Jan. 7 in Tehran.

Are you in favor of a republic or a constitutional monarchy?

We are in favor of an Islamic republic. **Could you explain to me precisely what you mean by an Islamic republic?**

By an Islamic republic we mean a regime that both stands for social justice and is elected by the people. The Koran is a book given by God to the prophet and unlike the Bible does not just encourage godliness and humanity. In addition to instructions about personal behavior, the Koran also advises on social justice, on the policies of governments and also on economic matters. All laws that are adopt-

ed must comply with the precepts of the Koran and of the prophet.

Iran wants to be free and independent. If there are problems with the U.S., what will you do?

That is indeed the problem at the moment. We are fighting against this regime because it is the executor of American policies. We wonder why the Americans are getting involved in our affairs. That is why the people are prepared to sacrifice themselves literally on the streets to combat this interference. And they will carry on doing so.

If the interference continues nevertheless, do you think that a war like that in Vietnam could develop?

It could become a lot worse here than in Vietnam, because this part of the world is a much more strategic area than Vietnam. That will result in a complete collapse of the American policies and even a world war.

If the Bakhtiar government is deposed by a military coup, what will the religious leaders do then?

We shall carry on fighting as long as there isn't a government that guarantees human liberty and that isn't elected by the people.

Would the religious leaders abolish the present equal rights for women?

If we are called reactionary, then it is as a propaganda stunt by the imperialistic powers. After Mohammed, a theocratic state came about in which the Caliph was both head of the church and of the state. The interests of the people were not always served, nor was justice. That old

image is the first reason that the impression of a reactionary state still exists. A second reason is that there are some Islamic countries which still have the same reactionary system robbing the people of their liberty. Women should enjoy the same freedom as men according to their ability, and can take part in all social activities. Women play an active role in the demonstrations; they distribute manifestos. Women are free to develop socially, educationally and economically. The Koran is, however, against freedom for women to prostitute themselves and to destroy family relations. The Koran forbids women using it as a weapon.

Why are you so strongly opposed to Communism?

As far as the meaning of the word and the economic ideology are concerned, we are not. We are not opposed to social justice and social provisions. We are opposed to one class treating another unjustly. We differ from the Communists about the philosophy of materialism. They confuse social, political, economic and religious affairs. They want to abolish religion as well as social inequality.

In the West, Communism was opposed by religion. Christianity was against many aspects of Communism. So the Communists rejected religion and fought against it. They found it difficult to reject the separate elements of religion, such as the Pope, the church or priests. So they thought it would be easier to break the authority of the church by denying the existence of God.

PCF, KKE, PASOK VS. EEC

Marchais travels to Greece to oppose European Union

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) Secretary - General George Marchais this week announced his candidacy for —or, some would say, against—the European Parliament, just after returning from a triumphant trip to Greece, where he was applauded by a left that shares the PCF's hostility to a "Europe of multinational corporations."

Marchais and the other 15 candidates on his party's list, published Jan. 23, can expect to win their share of France's 81 seats in the Euro-Parliament when it is directly elected for the first time next June 10, assuming the PCF gets around 20 percent of the vote, as in recent national elections.

The choice seems to have centered on women (22 out of 81, including the number two spot) and regional representatives, especially from the south. High on the list is Paul Verges, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the French Indian Ocean island of Reunion.

The PCF warns that the directly-elected Parliament is designed to undermine the Common Market's highest decision-making body, the Council of Ministers, where each country has veto rights. The PCF is against enlarging the nine-member European Economic Community (EEC) to include Greece, Spain and Portugal, primarily on the grounds that the greater the number of members, the stronger the argument against the veto as unworkable, and the greater the pressure to grant supra-national authority to EEC bodies.

Marchais in Greece.

Marchais spent Jan. 18 to 21 in Greece demonstrating an unfamiliar internationalist side to the PCF's much-maligned na-

Do Michelangelo, Beethoven, Newton and Voltaire make the French or the Greeks proud to be European? Does anyone care?

tionalism. Marchais enjoyed agreeable discussions of Europe not only with Harilaos Florakis and other leaders of the Moscow-aligned Greek Communist Party (KKE), but also with cultural lights like Mikis Theodorakis and, most significantly of all, with Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Greek Socialist party, PASOK.

The PCF and PASOK issued a joint statement "firmly opposing Greece's proposed entrance into the Common Market, which it said would "aggravate the difficulties of the Greek and French peoples and their economies. It would be a step towards dependence, towards formation of a supra-national Europe dominated by West Germany and the United States."

Although PASOK sent actress and parliamentarian Melina Mercouri to decorate the speakers' platform at the European Socialist bash in Lille, France, last November, it and she have always been against joining EEC. Inside sources say that Papandreou was outraged by a more or less subtle offer of financial support from the German Social Democratic Party if PASOK came out for Europe. The Greek left would generally prefer to seek close ties with Mediterranean countries, and agrees with the PCF that EEC is a roundabout way to strengthen the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance.

Japanese nuclear waste angers French recipients

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

SIX REFRIGERATED LEAD AND concrete containers filled with 13 tons of Japanese nuclear waste were unloaded from the freighter *Pacific Fisher* in the French port of Cherbourg on Jan. 22, as 1500 riot police armed with tear-gas grenades and water cannons beat off 5000 angry protesters.

The deadly cargo of highly radioactive leftover uranium and plutonium from Japanese nuclear power plants was just the first of thousands of tons of the stuff scheduled to arrive in Cherbourg on its way to the nearby nuclear reprocessing center at La Hague, on the remote tip of Normandy's Cotentin peninsula.

The Cogema firm that operates La Hague has signed contracts to receive and reprocess, by 1985, some 5000 tons of nuclear waste from Japan, West Germany, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and Belgium.

At a rate of 3000 francs per kilo (about 360 per pound) of fuel reprocessed, payable in advance, this is a multi-billion dollar deal that makes La Hague look like the thriving vanguard of advanced technology. Indeed, it is the only such reprocessing center now in operation, since the Windscale center in Britain was shut

down by safety problems.

Critics claim it is all a bluff. They say La Hague is the only such plant operating simply because the technology has not yet been perfected, but by pretending it can do the job Cogema has cornered a lucrative market. So far, La Hague has been unable to reprocess more than 30 tons per year, and last year had to be shut down for repairs.

The bluff works, ecologists say, because laws in West Germany, Sweden and Switzerland require nuclear power plants to provide for disposal or recycling of their radioactive waste. The Cogema contract enables administrators to meet such requirements at least on paper, regardless of what eventually happens to the dangerous substances.

Thus La Hague is really nothing but a glorified nuclear garbage dump, ecologists warn.

The Jan. 22 demonstration was the largest so far in a long campaign against La Hague carried on not only by ecological and far left groups, but also by the Socialist Party and the CFDT labor confederation, who ask for a "democratic debate" of nuclear issues and warn that "a nuclear society can only be a police society."

Many high school teachers in Cherbourg let out their classes for the demonstration.



George Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party.

A large and apparently appreciative crowd turned out in Athens to hear Marchais warn that EEC membership had not brought French working people the wonders promised and could be even more ruinous to large sectors of the vulnerable Greek economy.

The pro-EEC Caramanlis government publicly objected the the PCF leader's "intolerable interference in Greece's internal affairs." Not content with this curious defense of European integration as an internal affair, the Greek government spokesman reasoned: "If Greek membership in EEC must harm French economic interests, it goes without saying that it will be good for Greece. In short, Mr. Marchais tells us that the poorest people of Europe must stay poor so as not to decrease the wealth of the Common Market's current members."

Nobody benefits.

The PCF paper *l'Humanite* retorted that it was a "crude sophism" to pretend that one people's living standards can only be improved by impoverishing another. "In the present conditions, the French and Greek Communists, among others, figure that the enlarging of the common market would benefit neither Greece nor France nor anyone else, except for big capital."

The PCF platform on Europe contains 20 proposals, including a halt to the "dismantling of industry" being carried out according to "European directives," strict enforcement of anti-cartel measures, equal rights for women and for immigrant workers, preservation of the family farm against the European policy favoring agribusiness, democratization of EEC institutions, opposition to any idea of a European army "which would give West Germany access to nuclear armament," balanced reduction of military spending, a European convention on environmental protection and fair economic relations with developing countries.

The platform vows to "firmly resist the pretensions and maneuvers of countries which, like the U.S., demand exorbitant concessions, without any reciprocity, in order to invade and dominate sec-

tors of production and the market to the detriment of domestic agricultural and industrial production."

French Communists and Gaullists, also worried about the dismantling of French industry, are going to be campaigning not only against pro-European Giscardians and Socialists, but also against the EEC-financed "sensibilization" public relations campaign that is currently covering Metro walls with posters identifying the EEC with "hope."

Pollsters have been secretly plying Frenchmen with a huge range of such meaningful questions as: "Don't Michelangelo, Beethoven, Newton and Voltaire make you proud to be a European?"

The object apparently is eventually to leak a selection of suitably enthusiastic responses designed to disprove what everybody knows, namely that the French (like most people) find the EEC just about the most boring subject in the universe and would rather think about almost anything else.

PCF announced first.

The PCF was the first French party to announce its list of candidates because it is the most united in its European policy. The Socialist Party has spent recent months embroiled in factional strife which, behind floods of rhetoric, seems to center on one real question — who runs the party?—and one issue: Europe. Francois Mitterrand, who has doubled as party secretary and star candidate, is being challenged by the team of Michel Rocard, who wants to be a star, and Pierre Mauroy, who would be the party secretary.

Mauroy, the mayor of Lille, is a foremost Europe enthusiast and Rocard also takes a more "European" stance than Mitterrand. Wary of Europe, the PS's left-wing minority, the CERES, seems to be getting into position to try to return to the majority by "rescuing" Mitterrand at the PS congress in Metz, next April 6 and 7. Only after the dust clears from the Metz battlefield will the Socialist Party be able to choose its European candidates.

ISRAEL

Palestinian question an issue again

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER four months, the Peace Now movement, which mobilized tens of thousands into the streets last spring and summer, called a demonstration against Menachem Begin's government. Only 2000 came out on Jan. 13, a cloudless Saturday in Jerusalem, but the spirit was one of renewed struggle after a dormant period in which the movement officially backed the premier's plan for peace with Egypt and autonomy for the 1.4 million Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, under Israeli occupation since 1967.

Peace Now still supports the autonomy plan, speakers at the rally said. But it accuses the government of sabotaging it, along with the whole Camp David peace program, by agreeing, in a private meeting with Gush Emunim extremists, to allow a new Jewish colony near Nablus, in the heart of the West Bank. It would be the first official new settlement since the September accords.

On the same day, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan also came out against new settlements. In addition, he publicly voiced for the first time his reservations over the Israeli cabinet's refusal to accept a timetable for implementation of the autonomy plan. Dayan originally agreed to such a schedule at the Washington negotiations in October-November, only to be overruled at home, thus blocking final agreement with Egyptian President Sadat.

Over the last four months, the government has been under persistent attack from the right by those who openly want to maintain Israeli control over the whole West Bank and Gaza, and even Sinai. They argue that autonomy, if really applied, could easily lead to a Palestinian state, which they and a majority of Israel's populace oppose. The government's position has eroded towards the more hard-line stance, endangering the Sadat agreement and coordination with U.S. aims.

The Carter administration also officially opposes a Palestinian state, officially because of its "nonviability," but more likely out of fear that its leadership might be radical and anti-American. However, it understands that a stable solution must address the Palestinian problem.

Israelis change minds.

Most Israelis by now realize this too. In a December poll, 69 percent agreed that a solution to the Palestinian problem is a condition for peace; only 17.8 percent felt that it is not necessary. A year ago 59 percent agreed, before that, even less. Most of this majority, together with Dayan, Weizman, sometimes Begin (he wavers) and Peace Now—are anxious to stay on Washington's good side and, therefore, want to give autonomy an honest try. Their feelings may range from reluctant realism (Dayan) to naive enthusiasm (Peace Now), but the pro-American concern unites them.

The renewed activity of Israeli pro-Camp David forces, in and out of the government, together with the situation in the rest of the Middle East, makes it likely that, despite delays, the treaty outlined in September will be consummated before too long. A reassessment may be taking place as Iran slides out of the U.S. orbit, but a renewed push for settling things in this strategically vital region can be expected.

Saudi Arabia is extremely nervous over events in Iran and may be more willing than it has been to accept an essentially bilateral settlement. Sadat, full of rhetorical calls for anti-Communist solidarity, has shown some signs of softening to Israel's demands over the last week. If he accepts enough ambiguity in the Palestinian clauses to satisfy Begin, there may be an agreement soon, after all.

Most West Bank figures I have spoken



A Palestinian woman working her land at Beit Sahur, near Bethlehem. The land behind the barbed wire was fenced off by the army in 1967 and lies fallow. Her land was ordered closed last December, but the order has not been executed.

Seventy percent of Israelis agree that a solution to the Palestinian problem is a condition of peace.

to lately believe that Sadat will conclude the agreement. He has put his prestige on the line and reoriented Egypt's policies to such an extent that there is no turning back, they say. But they are also convinced that if it comes, the agreement will leave them under Israeli occupation, and with Egypt militarily neutralized, they will be in an even worse position than before.

Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem complained bitterly, before Christmas, that the military government had ordered 250 acres in nearby Beit Sahur closed to further building by residents. The site is alongside an army camp, and they fear that it will mean another settlement—which would eventually spread over even more land.

New Israeli expansion.

A similar confiscation took place in Hebron—unabashedly for expansion of the underpopulated Kiryat Arab colony. As I sat with Ramallah's Mayor Karim Khalef in late December, a phone call informed him that a site within his city—about 15 miles north of Jerusalem—had met the same fate. And several nearby homes of alleged terrorists were recently blown up by the authorities, a practice discontinued for some time.

Also, near Ramallah is the West Bank's only university of consequence, Bir Zeit. Its students and teachers have often been at the forefront of intellectual protest against the occupation in recent years. Over 100 of the school's 1500 students have been detained for various durations over the last two months.

None were accused of violent acts, according to attorney Felicia Langer, who is handling most of the cases. Rather, they were detained, and some claim they were tortured for speaking out or writing pamphlets against the occupation and denouncing the agreement with Egypt.

Many of the arrested students were accused of supporting the Marxist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, most vociferous of all PLO groups in denouncing U.S. policy in the Middle East, but most forthrightly in favor of a two-state solution. Prominent journalist Adil Samarra, previously imprisoned in 1967-71, is being held again, also accused of connections to the DFLP. My request to visit him was turned down by the Prison Service.

The military government announced in December that there are officially some 3000 "security" prisoners from the territories. Many hundreds more are held "under investigation," says Bashir Barghuty, editor of the weekly *A-Talia* in Arab Jerusalem. Imprisoned before 1967 for his association with the illegal Jordanian Communist Party, Barghuty believes that the Israeli authorities are now consciously cracking down on the left within the Palestinian movement. He cites the arrests and the special harassment he claims is applied to his paper. Unlike the three East Jerusalem dailies, whose position towards Israelis is by no means friendly, *A-Talia* is not permitted to distribute freely throughout the West Bank.

Barghuty holds out.

Barghuty still believes that peace could come after the creation of a Palestinian state next to Israel, demarked by the pre-1967 borders, and a solution of the refugee problem. "If the autonomy plan is pushed through," Barghuty says, "it would be dependent on Jordanian and Egyptian cooperation. What if one of those regimes were overthrown? The whole institution would fall apart." If Israel wanted a permanent peace, he argues. And the Palestinians are represented by the PLO.

This was the same message conveyed

by West Bank residents in early November, when the Israeli authorities loosened restrictions for the first time in more than 11 years and allowed large public meetings to be held in various West Bank cities. Mayors, journalists, businessmen and other community leaders all freely spoke their minds about the peace proposals. They were unanimously hostile, insisting that the only basis for peace was complete Israeli withdrawal and a state under PLO leadership.

The meetings were stopped by the military government as suddenly as they began, perhaps indicating indecision between an attempt at direct rule or a neo-colonial experience. In retrospect, however, it can be seen that the meetings may have served a number of useful purposes for Israel. Energy which might otherwise have gone into violent mass protest was channeled into forums which provided the security services with a clear picture of what various leaders thought. But the lack of more militant protest misled some Israeli doves into believing that agreement could perhaps be found within the autonomy framework as now proposed.

Support in rejection.

Furthermore, vocal rejection of Israel's version of autonomy by the Palestinian populace to whom it was supposed to apply provided Jerusalem's negotiators with precisely the loophole they were seeking in the negotiations with Egypt. If the West Bankers themselves, not Israel, were seen as the cause of autonomy's failure to lead to Palestinian independence, it might get Sadat off the hook with his Saudi Arabian backers, who insist on at least an appearance of a solution for the Palestinians.

In the end, a mere "appearance" will hardly be enough. Substantive self-rule, leading to real independence, is the minimum acceptable to West Bank residents most anxious to see the Camp David process through to fruition. And even they face serious opposition from other Palestinians, who are not happy with any kind of solution that would increase U.S. dominance in that region.

Next week: Part II: The debate within the West Bank and the Palestinians National Council.



In the late 1960s, Robert Lipsyte was a major figure in American sports journalism. From the vantage point of his column in the *NEW YORK TIMES*, Lipsyte tore apart many myths that surrounded big-time sports, and identified with the efforts of blacks, women and leftists to make sports a more accessible and humane activity. Distinguished for their literary quality as well as their depth, his articles were models for other journalists and a source of encouragement for people trying to change sports.

In 1971, Lipsyte left sports journalism. Since then he has written novels and screenplays, and has been a columnist for the *NEW YORK POST* focusing on urban issues. But his influence as a commentator on the manners, mores and politics of sports continues. His *SPORTS-WORLD, AN AMERICAN DREAMLAND* (Quadrangle, 1975) is widely read and his magazine articles, radio show and lectures and television appearances have kept his views on sports before the public eye.

Another, less visible mark of Lipsyte's influence has been his contact with a new generation of sports reformers in groups like *FANS*, *ACCESS*, and *Sports for the People*. Organizers for these groups have found him generous with his time and energy. He has been a key figure linking the sports activism of the '60s with that of the mid and late '70s.

Mark Naison: How has sportswriting changed since the days when you first began writing for the *NEW YORK TIMES*?

Robert Lipsyte: The big change has not been in sportswriting, but in sports and the general culture. The movement to-

THE NAKED SPORTS- WRITER

An Interview with Robert Lipsyte

by Mark Naison

ward investigative reporting and advocacy journalism in the '60s was reflected only dimly in sportswriting.

In the late '50s, there were two approaches to sportswriting: the educated sportswriter condescending to his sport, like Red Smith; and the jock extending his athletic life by becoming a sports writer, like Arthur Daley. These were cyclically supplanted by what we might call the Jimmy Cannon school, people who saw sports as an aspect of a larger culture.

A movement started in New York and Philadelphia in the early '60s, with some branches in Boston and Washington, but sportswriting has just about slipped back to where it once was.

Sportswriters today are not terribly investigative, they are certainly not "progressive" and the so-called big stories—drug abuse, the ruining of children, the continued exploitation of college athletes—are not treated in any root sort of way.

Sportswriting has always been "oil city," a bust-out place where a good writer could strut his stuff as long as he made sure he was maintaining the pale, male straight ethics and values of the society at large. That hasn't changed. You can discover that the middle linebacker is a Marxist, that the pitcher throws spitballs, or that all horseraces are fixed, and it doesn't really matter because you are attacking these things as aberrations of a basically solid system. There has been no real change in sports because of what sportswriters have written.

Naison: Is the atmosphere in sports journalism a product of editorial pressures, journalism schools, or the kind of people who choose sports journalism as a career?

Lipsyte: All of those. First, though the situation is not as bad as it once was, sports departments in newspapers, particularly in large, "responsible" newspapers, are called the toy department. People leave sports writing because at age 35 or 40 their mothers are still asking them what they're going to do when they grow up.

This attitude has been fostered by newspaper management. They don't expect sportswriters to act like journalists and don't pay them as much as other journalists, allowing instead little trips, bribes, gifts from the teams they cover. This has enormously undermined professionalism in sportswriting.

Since the '60s, there has been some change in the craft. Sportswriters now tend to think of themselves as men and women working for newsgathering organizations and assigned to sports, rather than as crypto-athletes getting a portion of their pay from a newspaper or television station.

Naison: How has the rise of television sports journalism and televised sports generally affected the career of sports writers?

Lipsyte: You can have a much greater impact through television. But getting access to television is extremely difficult. Television is so wedded to sports that the idea of important sports journalism on television is absurd. The big story in boxing last year was the fixing of several tournaments, and that involved ABC and CBS. Who's going to cover them?

Naison: Has the outlook of athletes changed much in the last 20 years? If so, what has been responsible for this change: the growth of the players associations, the increasing importance of black athletes, the radicalizing effect of the '60s?

Lipsyte: Those things have happened. But, like the changes in sports writing, they have not been intrinsic to sports. It's important not to isolate sports or sportswriting or to view it as a domain apart.

This tendency occurs across the board politically. Jack Scott and Woody Hayes both feel that sports is some sort of sanctuary that should be lifted out of the emotional filth and pollution of our times and put where we can visit it, enjoy it, and most of all worship it.

Jack feels that athletes are higher types of people. He once told me that if there had been athletes instead of Hell's Angels at Altamont, no one would have been hurt.

This thinking is dangerous. Athletes, whether they're our kids playing in a soccer league or celebrities, still get up in the morning, fart, get sick and die.

But athletes today are different. They are more sophisticated, because their fathers belonged to John L. Lewis' union, so they don't have the horror of any kind of collective action. They have the sense that it's them against the bosses. That feeling is really strong. Otherwise, how could there possibly be players' associations among people who are all prima donnas, who have all been superstars since they were ten years old?

Most professional athletes are not as big as they once were. They're people who, in junior high and high school, had the experience of going downtown and getting free suits, of getting laid more, of being sure about themselves and their bodies when nobody else was.

Naison: How have working conditions for athletes changed in the last 20 years?

Lipsyte: Statistically, I think there are more injuries. One reason may be that there is so much more money involved that people think it's worth taking greater chances with their bodies. And drug use has increased because this is the first group of athletes that has grown up with widespread acceptance of drug use within their peer group.

The new subspecialty of sports medicine is particularly dangerous. I suspect doctors in this field are along for a celebrity ride, otherwise why would they spend their time taking care of basically healthy people? The thrust of sports medicine is to get you back on the battlefield in fighting shape as quickly as possible, rather than to cure illness or injury. If a normal person sprained his ankle, and Rob MacAdoo sprained his ankle, they would be treated quite differently. The normal person would rest for a week and hobble around, but MacAdoo's got to be fixed up to play; and in the long run, the pain-killing drugs he's going to get will thin his bones (and will probably make his leg snap next year.) Various devices that are being used in other countries, such as blood doping, are not physically to the benefit of the "patient." Yet they are being made part of policy, on national teams, on professional teams.

Naison: Do you think that today's owners are less concerned with the quality of sports than their more paternalistic counterparts 20 years ago?

Lipsyte: There were never really that many paternalistic sports owners. There were some scuffling middle-class ethnic types who created basketball, but they never could have made it without the blue-bloods of hockey who owned the arenas.

Secondly, I don't think it was ever to the advantage of most athletes, with the exception of a Carl Yastrzemski and one or two others, to have Tom Yawkey own the Boston Red Sox with his great love and sportsmanship. The same is true of the New York Giants, with the Mara family owning them. Other than the two or three players whom they loved and invited to Christmas dinner and had their private priest pray over, none of the Giants cared whether they were owned by a single family or by a group of owners, each with a

trucking business for the athlete to work in sales for when his career was over.

I have no problems with the "great evils" that sportswriters are yammering about—the idea that corporations are taking over, that agents are taking over. The agents are probably the best thing that ever happened to the individual athletes. The idea of someone who has led an insulated life since he was 12 years old having to negotiate with a general manager who does nothing but negotiate contracts is very exploitative. Agents rarely take athletes for a ride. The only one who really did it was a former sportswriter, Bud Sorkin.

Naison: You hear a lot from sportswriters about the disillusionment of sports fans.

Lipsyte: How would they know? A sportswriter sits in a sealed box, a glass booth where he or she can't hear crowd noise. How can they know what the average person in the street thinks? They have no idea. They are fed by management, maybe by their own kids, and their own distorted assumptions. They are basically people who are very disturbed about changes in the status quo that would make their coverage different.

I don't think that the average sports fan is disturbed any more by these things. The great traumatic events in sports were when the Braves left Boston and the Dodgers and the Giants left New York. We had been told that these were our teams and were our teams forever. They wore the names of the places where we lived on their backs and they represented us. And since sports spectatorship, to working people, is maybe as important in sustaining life from week to week as liquor is in the slums, there was just terrible disruption and disillusionment—and a feeling of betrayal.

But I don't think that exists any more. There's future shock; people are used to changes. Nobody you know is still married... My wife and I got three cards over the holidays saying "Guess what...we're no longer together." This is happening all over. People can handle their franchise leaving.

The evil, of course, is that we've been sold this bill of goods about how important sports is, how rooting for our home team is part of civic pride, because if the team does well it will bring greater glory and investment to our city. And then the hero that we have been conditioned to love is traded for a similar hero from another city because they have finished the five-year depreciation on their contract and the trade means that each owner can start another five-year cycle of depreciation. The deal seems especially sordid after we've been told for many years that this person represents our hopes and dreams.

Naison: Do you think public ownership of professional teams would be useful?

Lipsyte: Public ownership would not be as valuable as player ownership, which probably could be worked out on the basis of cooperative shares based on salary. Given the conflicts that inevitably arise, if anybody owns a team, it might as well be the people who play. But it's not an important issue. Let's nationalize oil first, or put in a good comprehensive health insurance plan. Then we'll worry about who owns a team.

This brings me to another goal of sports reformers—government regulation. Why should my tax dollar be spent in any kind of overseeing of sport? Who cares, except the gamblers? I don't consider a fixed Super Bowl as bad as chemicals that slip by because there aren't enough FDA inspectors, or bad meat or faulty wiring in tenements. It seems to me that there

are an awful lot of things that government should be doing before it starts regulating sports.

I've been away from daily journalism for seven years and my attitudes have changed drastically. When I left in 1971, I would have thought there should be government regulation, that communities should own teams, that all these poor exploited athletes should be protected, that the hypocrisy of college scholarship be scrapped. But I've come to the conclusion that it's not that important. What's really important is making people aware of the way sports are used to manipulate and control us. The way athletes are used as false models. But other than that, I don't see any reason why sports should be more controlled than, say, the ballet or the theater.

Naison: What about the physical dangers of big time sport? Most other dangerous industries have a whole array of federal and state laws to enforce some safety standards—the mining industry, for example. Don't athletes have a claim to have their occupational health and safety protected?

Lipsyte: Sports are not all that dangerous. Brutality and the viciousness have been hyped to make sports more exciting, so we'll watch it. Yes, there are a lot of broken legs among football players. But within seconds of the bone snapping, the Mayo clinic is carrying them off and the team orthopedic surgeon has his knife out and is ready to go to work under the stands. Compared with the quality of primary health care in many parts of the country, compared to the generally primitive attack on cancer, compared to a recent event called the Vietnam war, and compared to what happens on the highways, what happens to professional athletes is small potatoes.

I would like to pause to attack the sentimentality of the left about athletes. One of my favorite quotes is Ted Gold's statement that "I will never be a true Communist until Willie Mays retires." I just don't understand this. Professional athletes are not proletarians; they are not exploited in any real sense of that word. The consumer is the person who is exploited—the fan, the reader of the sports pages. The athlete is the object by which the rest of us are exploited.

It's true that major league athletes, particularly if they are black, are conditioned to believe that sports are their ticket out and that they must accept the worst working conditions to get out. But they should be able to take care of those conditions through their trade unions (in this case the players' associations) as others have done.

The problem for the rest of us—and it always comes down to the rest of us—is the kid in junior high school who is limping and is sent back into the game because he is the team's best player and the junior high school coach wants to win.

The problem gets worse in high school where the competition increases and kids are even more reluctant to say that they are hurt. They don't want to lose their place on the team; they don't want to be a "pussy," they don't want to be a "girl."

And then there is the psychological damage done to those who get put on the athletic scrap heap all along the way, who get cast off.

The bizarre fuckers we've had as Presidents—Nixon and Kennedy. Jesus Christ, if either one of them had managed to make the football team, maybe the course of American history would have been different. They wouldn't have had to prove their tainted manhood in such dangerous ways.

Continued on page 18.



EDITORIAL

Of blizzards, workers and shirkers

Until recent years, the Western world, especially its middle class, has been dominated by a work ethic. The shared belief that the work must be done, the show must go on, the paper must get out, regardless of the natural or unnatural events that conspire to prevent it, has been associated with societies that are highly productive and reasonably efficient.

Some 25 years ago, David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd*, described the inner-directed person dominated by the work ethic. But he observed a combination of circumstances creating another kind of person, one dominated by other values. The work ethic, he said, would cease to be the core mechanism of the Western personality.

He didn't quite predict that instead of the work ethic we would have the shirk ethic, but that, indeed, seems gradually to be emerging in our society.

This was brought home to us at IN THESE TIMES most sharply the week of Jan. 16-20 when Chicago was inundated by what was described as the worst snowstorm in the city's history. We were forced to bundle into several layers of clothing, including our strongest boots, travel on incredibly crowded and slow subways and buses, and trudge through high banks of snow to reach our office and put the paper out.

As surprising as it may seem to old socialists who are dedicated to the work ethic like few others, the staff divided between those who held to the work ethic and those who held to the shirk ethic. The workers said very firmly, "The paper must get out. Our readers expect it. We must overcome the elements to do our job."

The shirkers wanted to know why we had to overcome the elements, what was so crucial about putting the paper out in the face of Chicago's worst snowstorm, why wouldn't our readers understand our problems, why, indeed, must we be bound by the tradition that, against all odds, the paper must get out, a tradition that had for so long dominated the publishing business?

The issue was raised to a higher level when some of the shirkers insisted that a socialist newspaper should not be bound by capitalist traditions, that socialism decreed that work is for the people, not the reverse, that fighting nature at every turn rather than sometimes abiding by it was already the cause of much psychic and ecological disaster.

But the paper got out. And the question remaining is should the work ethic be replaced by the shirk ethic? Or is some synthesis possible? Does a transition to socialism bode ill for all those sturdy traditions that placed human beings above the elements, above natural and unnatural disasters? To date, because various forms of socialist life have emerged largely in non-industrial countries, the work ethic could hardly be said to have disappeared. Instead, in those countries it has been decreed by law and enforced by dire means. (And sociologists have been quick to point out that the absence of the work ethic in the non-industrial world has accounted in large part for the failure of those nations to industrialize as rapidly as they wished.)

Meanwhile, in the U.S., there has been the slowdown, the refusal by many to uphold the tradition of work for its own sake, and, at the same time, a growing consciousness, we are convinced, that socialism offers a more satisfactory life than our present system.

Are the two related? Do people see socialism as a means to unburden themselves of the irksome work ethic? Or do they see it as merely a more equitable ar-



IN THESE TIMES workers and shirkers cooperate in photo-coverage of '79 Blizzard. One worker loses no time in getting the story down first-hand.

angement by which everyone will work and get paid more equally?

Were you to question our staff, it would be divided in its answer. Certainly, the shirkers would say, people will continue to work and the work will be divided, along with the pay, more equitably, but work for the sake of work will disappear. We will work to satisfy our needs.

The workers would hold dear to the old traditions. Work is good for the soul, they would say. What would life be like if, every time things got tough, the actors failed to show up at the theater, the newspeople failed to show up at their offices, and all the people who make society go failed to show up? Socialism should incorporate the work ethic in a more equitable fashion, they would say.

If the division in the offices of IN THESE TIMES on this question was a harbinger of things to come among socialists, it is clear that this is one of the serious problems that will plague the new society. But perhaps it will be resolved as it was among us, by simply majority rule tempered by mutual accommodation. Them as wanted to stay home, read, meditate, write and watch the snow pile up outside their windows stayed home for two days and then came in to work. The paper went to bed on time. Shirkers and workers applied themselves at their respective rhythms to good effect.

In the end, our readers would get the paper. They would get the paper, that is, if another storm didn't swell the number of shirkers in the postal service, and teach the workers that in the long run no one beats the elements. ■

Presidential law stymies Congress

The conflict between corporate priorities and the people's health, safety and welfare has been generally evident in the politics surrounding taxes, inflation, employment, interest rates, affirmative action, government spending and foreign policy. At the national level, one of the forms it has taken is that of differences among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the federal government.

In that form, the conflict (as well as intra-corporate conflicts) peaked during the Nixon-Ford administration over the issues of impoundment of funds and foreign intervention. But it has since been attenuated due to the weaknesses of anti-corporate forces in Congress and the courts.

The initiatives of citizen groups, however, have kept the conflict a vital force in the larger body politic, and now it is building once again toward a constitutional confrontation between presidential and congressional authority over the policies of regulatory agencies. The question is whether these agencies, directed by Congress to protect workplace health and safety, consumers and the environment, may by presidential intervention be made to ignore their legislative mandates in the interest of "higher policy."

Earlier in January, the White House pressured the Interior Department into delaying for at least six months environmental regulations governing strip-mining, on the grounds that they might be "inflationary." At about the same time, on similar grounds, the White House called Environmental Protection Agency administrator Douglas Costle into a secret meeting to discuss modification of air quality standards with "inflation-fighter" Alfred E. Kahn and Council of Economic Advisers chairman Charles L. Schultze. Such

modifications could amount to a violation of the law as passed by Congress.

Several months ago, the President pressured Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall into relaxing standards for maximum levels of cotton dust in textile mills, once again on grounds of "fighting inflation."

Last October, the President took steps to institutionalize his power over regulatory agencies by creating a Regulatory Council, ostensibly to harmonize regulatory measures and assess their economic impact. Conservative opponents of centralized power have not been heard to criticize this move.

In constitutional terms, the question boils down to whether regulatory agencies established by Congress are responsible to their legislative mandates or to presidential policy priorities that may violate the letter and spirit of the law.

In the case of quasi-judicial regulatory agencies like the Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, and Federal Communications Commission, presidents may influence their policies through the power to appoint commissioners. Nevertheless, presidents may not directly interfere with their decisions. But in the case of the other regulatory agencies like the EPA and Occupational Safety and Health Administration, President Carter has exercised the power to modify or rescind their decisions without regard to the legality of doing so.

In response to such presidential intervention, several environmental groups have brought suit in federal court to forbid the President or his economic advisers from interfering with the Interior Department's strip-mining regulations. Robert Rauch, counsel for the Environmental Defense Fund, points out that the "public rule making" of regulatory agencies, ar-

rived at after open hearings, is being illegally contravened by "private rule making that goes on behind closed doors" in the White House.

In a similar vein, Alan Morrison, visiting professor at Harvard Law School and former director of Ralph Nader's Public Citizens Litigation Group, has stated that "Under my copy of the Constitution, the President is supposed to execute the laws," not override or rescind them by extra-legal executive action.

Back in the Jackson era of the 19th century, the Supreme Court in the landmark case, *Kendall vs. Stokes*, rejected the argument that executive agents were subject solely to the President's direction and control, holding that accepting such a principle "would be clothing the President with a power entirely to control the legislation of Congress, and paralyze the administration of justice."

It cannot be assumed that today's Supreme Court would rule in the same way. Ultimately, it will be up to Congress in framing its laws either to permit or prohibit presidential interference with regulatory objectives. Conservative members of Congress, who otherwise rail against centralized power, are already planning to introduce legislation to authorize presidential interference.

Though the conflict may take the form of constitutional powers, in substance it involves that between corporate priorities centered in the policies of the President, and the general welfare at least potentially represented in the legislative branch. That's why the pro-corporate members of Congress are only too willing to give their power away to the President, and why anti-corporate citizens should exert all efforts to defend congressional authority against presidential encroachment. ■

LETTERS

DON'T MOURN

ALTHOUGH THE HUCKSTERISM OF the campaign consultants that Sid Blumenthal wrote about (*ITT*, Jan. 10) seems apparent in the article, I wanted to provide a bit more information for *ITT* readers from an organizer's perspective on one particular campaign discussed. In 1976 I worked as a field organizer in Mo Udall's presidential primary campaign. Mo ended up second in the Wisconsin primary, as he did everywhere that spring. From my perspective, however, as a city coordinator in Racine, the comments of Marttila and Kiley reported by Blumenthal as gospel appear self-serving—also wrong, extraordinarily simplistic and unfair.

Marttila and Kiley would have the Wisconsin primary turn on Mo Udall's lack of faith in their ability to raise \$350,000 and his consequent pulling of television and newspaper advertisements two days before the primary. But Mo's most significant fault was not the "lack of the will to power that the consultants themselves possess," as Blumenthal put it, but too much reliance on consultants like Marttila and Kiley who focus almost entirely on polling and media to the exclusion of voter identification, personal contact, and field organization.

My own experience in Racine supported the sense that field organization was critical, at least in primaries. Carter's and McGovern's campaigns showed us that, too. Going into Racine I was told we didn't expect to win there, that in 1972 it went to Wallace with McGovern finishing a surprising second. We'd take a second again for Mo, I was told, and try to break into the Wallace vote, but forget blacks because Carter has them wrapped up. When I got to Racine, the figures I came up with going over past election results, talking to people there, and touring the city convinced me that not only could Mo win there but that it was preposterous to consign black votes to Carter. We sent people into all districts, worked them hard by foot and phone, did the best we could with the little relevant literature that came from Milwaukee—and took the

city and the black districts by significant margins.

The Wisconsin story is told in greater detail for those interested in Jules Witcover's account of the 1976 campaign, *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency*, pages 276-288. Witcover recounts a pertinent comment that suggests the pitfalls that reliance on consultants can produce: "to say, in an election we lost by 7000 votes, that had the television been on those extra two or three days, that would have made the difference—this is what Marttila, Quinn and these other people said, this was their simplistic explanation. The failure to send out the 40,000 handwritten letters to people canvassed in a western area was just as important. Marttila and these guys... they make their fees off television. If you buy television they make a fee, if you buy postage they don't. They have a built-in bias." Even in electoral campaigns, the point Joe Hill made holds: don't mourn, organize.

—Gary Mitchell
New Brunswick, N.J.

THE FIRST HURRAH

HURRAH FOR BRUCE WEXLER'S FINE article on SEIU Local 372's efforts to organize social service agency workers in Chicago (*ITT*, Dec. 27, 1978).

As a union organizer who has done battle with the notorious Modern Management Methods consultants, I know painfully well of their ruthless tactics. Wexler does a good job describing them in all their scab glory.

The ironies involved in the Catholic Charity campaign are classic. I suppose, though, they are no different than what we have in President Carter who espouses a human rights line for people abroad but demands cuts in vital urban programs aimed at helping the poor at home.

Mary Beth Guinan and Hogen Griffen, Local 372 leaders, are the kind of people that really inspire workers to take the risks necessary to organize. The labor movement would be a heck of a lot healthier with more of them around.

—Jim Potterton
San Jose, Calif.

TAKE A POWDER

I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION for your coverage of the Jonestown tragedy and for your thoughtful editorial, "The Perversion of Our Virtues" (*ITT*, Dec. 13, 1978). It is good that at least one left newspaper doesn't fall back on the trite explanation that all the trouble in the U.S. left is the result of CIA machinations.

You were especially correct to point out that among the more troubling aspects of the Rev. Jones-Jonestown situation was the tendency "of those of us on the Socialist left" to "support movements such as the People's Temple and overlook their undemocratic behavior because we feel they are on our side." This problem has dogged radical movements in all times. It is frustrating to see people burned more than once by this attitude and still persist in it.

What can one think of progressives who didn't utter a peep when the "anti-imperialist" government of Iraq announced in June 1978 that it had executed 30 Communists? Apparently they figured that since Iraq was anti-Israel and accepted Soviet military aid this justified their silence. But, if Israel had dared to execute 30 Arab Communists, or even one, these same people would be out in the streets protesting and the World Peace Council would denounce them vigorously.

I was nauseated a few years ago to see those infuriated that People's China had recognized the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile keep silent when the Soviet Union continued to recognize and trade with the Suharto regime in Indonesia after it had conducted the horrifying massacre of about half a million Communists and other leftists in that country in 1965.

There are all sorts of pompous, know-it-all "theoreticians" on the left who feed their friends the line that the "revolutionary" thing is to "see the larger picture," or that the struggle is "tough." There is some truth to this, of course,

but not when this becomes the rationale to cover up or explain away mass murders, the suppression of ordinary civil liberties and the defilement of Socialist and democratic principles.

All those prominent left "personalities" who before the Jonestown tragedy went about praising Jones and his doings to the skies are now discredited. It will be a great boon to the progressive movement if the likes of Mark Lane and Charles Garry took a powder for a while.

—Sid Resnick
New Haven, Ct.

JONESTOWN VS. SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

IT IS INCREDIBLE THAT *ITT* COULD devote so many pages in three issues to the Jonestown story—and then cut Peggy Dennis' story on Soviet anti-Semitic writing, leaving out some of the most significant examples. It shows something that has become apparent to many readers in recent months—a growing lack of sensitivity in your staff to about how Jews, even non-Zionist Jews, feel about anti-Semitism.

In another unbelievable story, headed "Islam plays progressive role," Stephen Daggett defends Khomeini, the leader of Islam forces in Iran, and presents him as a progressive.

In Khomeini's book, *Islamic Government*, a collection of lectures given in Iraq in 1970, he calls for 1) 80 lashes as a punishment for the wine drinker, 2) lashing, stoning and in some cases stoning to death of fornicators, 3) cutting off the hands of thieves. He also accuses Jews and their foreign masters of not only planning to dominate Iran, but also of plotting to rule the entire planet.

—Larry Scheff
Chicago

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise, we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters, or at least write clearly and leave wide margins.

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ROBERTA LYNCH

Female chauvinism: a mark of oppression in struggle for equality

THERE IS AN OLD ARGUMENT that flares up periodically within the contemporary women's movement and reverberates from the halls of academe to the kitchen table of the average family. Simply put, it asks: Are women better than men? "Better," in this case, means not stronger or smarter, but more moral, more humane. It is a debate with partial roots in an earlier round of the battle for women's freedom. The suffrage movement made one of its central themes the inherent civilizing qualities of the female of the species. Women's votes, it was promised, would bulge the ballot boxes with demands for peace and social harmony.

You might think that the failure of this approach (or at least its extremely slow maturation) would have put a stop to the conjectures on the natural superiority of women.

But it didn't. The idea has continued to germinate in the minds of women in the ensuing decades. And it's not surprising that it should persist, really.

There is much in women's experiences to suggest such superiority: intense devotion to children, sensitivity to feelings,



dislike of violence or cruelty, endurance in the face of hardship and suffering; many qualities—so often ignored by the larger society—that women know in their bones are an essential social glue.

Yet the very persistence of this idea seems to me more a mark of oppression than of liberation. It will remain dear to women as long as a drastic division exists between male and female roles and identities.

It is not so much a justification as a consolation—part of a feminine mythology handed down over back fences and front porches, passed on across clothes lines and in laundromats. It is the small lie we tell ourselves to counter the big lie of female inferiority that society has told us. It is the complicity of outcasts—a

pact made with each other when we cannot bear to face the cold reality of our social ostracism.

It has been surprising to me, therefore, that parts of the women's liberation movement have attempted to elevate this notion to the level of theoretical principle. Time and again I have encountered in writings, speeches, or conversations the assertion that male values are at the root of all evil in the world.

Women haven't been the ones to start wars, or eat away at the environment, or dream up bombs that can blow away a whole corner of the earth, or...and so the argument goes. The catalogue of history's horrors is a lengthy one and if you want to assume that because men have been the dominant sex through it all they have responsibility for it all, then the case certainly seems airtight.

But this line of logic has always struck me as dangerous. Because if we give men all the blame, then we must also give them all the credit. For history is not simply a record of outrages. It is a complex journey from primitive conditions of existence and value systems to advanced technology and highly developed and ideological and social systems. It includes great human triumphs over natural disasters, barbaric impulses, and social adversity.

Women were not just passive observers of this historical drama. They were important, if unrecognized, actors. They have at least partial responsibility for both the evil and the good that have been done in the name of "mankind."

Many traits more common to women have been devalued because of male dominance. Our society is seriously damaged as a result. There is little doubt that the kind of caring and nurturing that women have developed over the centuries could help profoundly to transform political and social relations, could they be brought into the mainstream of social life.

But women are not simply saints. And oppression does not breed only nobility. There are some "female" characteristics that are much better left on the sidelines

of society, shed like an old skin as we lumber clumsily into new roles. Conversely, despite the obvious and obnoxious political and personal flaws of men, everything male cannot just be labelled "bad."

I suspect that these "male" and "female" traits are not inherent, but learned (even if this learning has taken place over the generations) and that there are aspects of each that are positive and desirable.

We are, each sex, malformed, locked as we have been within our own gender identities. We are really groping our way through history: the men, blind, lacking a certain vision into the human heart; the women, crippled, unable to stand free in the world.

I do not mean by this to be unduly pessimistic about our collective prospects. But I do want to insist that we must look not just at the political evil of sexism, but at its human consequences, not just at the way it limits our choices, but at the way it limits our humanity.

Nor do I mean to suggest that there is an equality of victimization. Men, after all, have the pleasures of their power, while women are finding it increasingly impossible to find happiness in their bondage.

Our current sexual battles are necessary not because women are naturally better and should themselves become dominant, but because the positive "female" qualities have been excluded from social legitimacy, while the "male" traits have too often been aggrandized or exaggerated.

And if it seems—as it does to me—that women are moving much more rapidly toward making necessary changes than men, it is not because we are better individuals, but because the social forces acting on us allow little choice. We are more and more in the world and our survival requires our growth.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR AND THE LAW

In Memoriam: Katherine Hyndman, 1907-1978, a visceral democrat

VIEWERS OF THE FILM *Union Maids* will recall "Catherine Ellis," a woman slight in stature, with very white hair. Towards the end of the film she observes that some of her relatives thought that by becoming a radical she had wasted her talents, and was, as a result "nothing." But, she states with emphasis, "I have no regrets." At another point in the movie Katherine (Catherine Ellis was not her real name) observes that no country in the world is socialist, as she understands the word. Socialism, she goes on, means the greatest possible participation by the people. "Let the people decide," Katherine said.

Katherine Hyndman died shortly before Christmas in a Chicago suburb.

My wife was one of the very few friends with whom Katherine had regular contact at the end of her life. A few days before Katherine died, she wrote Alice a long letter in which she discussed, among other things, Vivian Gornick's *The Romance of American Communism*.

"Practically all the people she interviewed," Katherine wrote, "were college people who now own their own business or have a government job. The whole



states with emphasis, "I have no regrets." At another point in the movie Katherine (Catherine Ellis was not her real name) observes that no country in the world is socialist, as she understands the word. Socialism, she goes on, means the greatest possible participation by the people. "Let the people decide," Katherine said.

The letter turned to recent events in China: "I subscribe to *China Reconstructs* and I read between the lines that since the death of Mao there are changes for the worse. Mao warned against the establishment of an elite—they sent young college students, male and female, to the remotest villages to bring modern medicine, establish clinics, but at the same time [to ask] the people how did they survive all these years without modern medicine. The peasants showed them herbs that grew wild, roots of plants and certain flowers..."

"Can you imagine a representative of the Peoples Republic of China making a

state visit to the Shah of Iran?"

These comments were characteristic. Katherine was a visceral democrat. It was for this reason that she joined and then left the Communist Party. She recalled scathingly minor officials in the Party who considered washing the dishes after a coffee klatch, or nailing a picket sign, to be beneath them. She distrusted Party intellectuals in New York City who walked on a newly-washed floor without awareness of the person who had just scrubbed it.

I remember a time when every week I drove Katherine the long distance from the Southwest side of Chicago, where she lived, to a meeting in Gary. One evening I was puzzling about why Communists in steel permitted the United Steelworkers of America to be established with a top-down constitution modeled on that of the Mineworkers. Katherine (a great storyteller) was telling me how she came to be made Party District Organizer for the Great Plains, and was dismayed, on her arrival in Kansas City, to discover that she had not been elected and that the incumbent D.O. did not even know he was to be replaced. Suddenly I realized that a party which did not elect its own staff representatives was hardly prepared to lead a struggle for bottom-up government of a union.

Encountering difficulties in one's own life, it lends perspective to recall what Katherine endured. She had a hip defect from birth which made her lame. Her health was often poor. She grew up in the coal fields of southern Iowa: watching *Salt of the Earth* she shuddered at the familiar sound of a siren announcing a mine disaster.

Many of Katherine's celebrated stories began or ended in, or passed through small, cold, rented rooms, where Katherine would seem to have spent much of her life. She was jailed without bail for ten months pursuant to possible deportation in Crown Point, Ind., in the 1950s. There she took great pride in maintaining her cleanliness and physical fitness, and became mother confessor to many.

She also began to write an autobiography on the backs of Christmas and

Easter cards sent to her by supporters. Her husband, Ralph Hyndman, died at about the same time she left the Party, many years before her own death. Thus she was quite alone in her old age.

It is hard to select one of her stories, for instance, the time the police in Omaha were watching for her and she hitch-hiked into town with the police chief, or "The Drink of Water" (each of Katherine's stories seemed to have a particular, inevitable name) which appears in Katherine's account of her life in *Rank and File*.

Katherine was often judgmental. She was responsive to change in some ways, harsh and rigid in others. She had a great glee.

Good-bye, tough little woman. I love you.

Staughton Lynd, a long-time civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

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BOOKS

Paul Robeson: Socialist and black nationalist

By Chuck Hopkins

"I WANT TO BE AFRICAN": Paul Robeson and the Ends of Nationalist Theory and Practice, 1919-1945

By Sterling Stuckey
University of California, Los Angeles,
Afro-American Studies Monograph
Series, 1976. 47 pp.

PAUL ROBESON SPEAKS, Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918-1974
Edited by Philip S. Foner
Brunner/Mazel Publishers, 1978, 586 pp.

When Paul Robeson died on Jan. 23, 1976, there were many activists of the present generation who were unaware of the magnitude of his impact on social movements in this country and in other parts of the world. For a black man, born in America in 1898, he had truly a remarkable life.

The son of a former slave, Robeson earned 12 varsity letters at Rutgers University, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, delivered the oration at his graduation, and briefly practiced law after studying at Columbia. He left the legal profession to begin a career as an internationally acclaimed actor and concert singer. Throughout his career, he was a steadfast fighter for black liberation, and strong advocate of solidarity with working people and other oppressed groups around the world.

Stuckey's and Foner's books provide much needed insights into Robeson's thoughts as he interacted with political friends and enemies. Stuckey, a leading black historian of Afro-American nationalism, focuses on Robeson's developing theory of culture. Robeson addressed his ideas on the subject to white and black audiences.

While crediting white progressives for their leadership and service, Robeson reminded them of the need for "faith in the whole people," and for the "emergence into full bloom of the last estate." In his view, left activists had the responsibility to rid themselves of ideas that placed human groups in high and low categories. He believed that there should be "no superior and no inferior—but equals, assigned to different tasks in the building of a new and richer human society."

This concern for the cultural integrity of different peoples grew out of a belief expressed early in Robeson's career. Black people in America, he asserted, needed to explore their cultural heritage and to begin setting their own standards. In his Rutgers graduation speech, he made what in Stuckey's view was his first public expression of his nationalist sentiments:

"We know that neither institutions nor friends can make a race stand unless it has strength in its own foundation; that races like individuals must stand or fall by their own merit; that to succeed fully they must practice their virtues of self-reliance, self-respect, industry, perseverance, and economy."

Robeson also believed it necessary for black people to build an independent cultural foundation through an awakening consciousness of their African heritage. The realization of the African aspects of Afro-American values were important, warned Robeson, because the same impetus that created in black people the desire "to prove their equality with the white man—on the white man's own ground, is killing what is of most value—the personality that makes them unique."

Viewing black people in the U.S. and in other societies where they were subjugated, Robeson coined the phrase "card-board Americans" to describe their bourgeois behavior. He looked upon their imitations of colonial masters in France, England, the U.S. and other western countries as a form of cultural suicide, since "the Negro is really an Eastern product" and by copying European culture was demonstrating a "regrettable and abysmal ignorance of the value of his own heritage."

Robeson, however, cannot be accused of racial chauvinism. He did not limit his artistic and political work to the cause of black liberation. He strongly believed that black oppression and cultural expression through such forms as spirituals linked Afro-Americans to Russian peasants, Indians, and other oppressed people around the world. But he did not feel that he was "qualified" to perform the folk music of these groups until he had studied their culture and movements. His identification with Africa led him to learn some 20 African languages.

Robeson's long visits to the Soviet Union where he witnessed the progress of so-called "backward races" under the influence of socialism convinced him that "if provided the opportunity, one segment of humanity would perform on the same level of culture as any other." According to Stuckey, in integrating his art and political work with a strong sense of solidarity with workers and other oppressed people, Robeson demonstrated "in theory and practice that there is no necessary tension between being a black nationalist and socialist."

In his book, Foner provides the reader with a different perspective on the black artist and socialist. The perspective is the familiar Communist one that argues that Robeson "advanced" beyond the particularities of black nationalism and attained universal solidarity with humanity. Foner criticizes Stuckey for failing to point out that it was his study "of Marxism that led Robeson to advance from being a champion" of mere "African nationalist movements" to the advocacy of movements with "socio-economic content."

This criticism might be dismissed as an academic exercise in hair-splitting, except for the fact that it exemplifies a critical contradiction between socialists whose reality stems from their fundamentally colonial oppression as a whole people and those who view the world from the standpoint of would-be redistributors of capitalist wealth. Contrary to Stuckey, Foner argues that Robeson's intense concern with uncovering his ties to Africa was not what enabled him to identify with other exploited and oppressed peoples, but represented a mere arresting of his theoretical development along the path to becoming a "true" socialist.

Foner's criticism strikes at the heart of Stuckey's presentation of Robeson. For Stuckey, Robeson's identification with African and other eastern values was an important factor in his developing critique against western culture as a whole. For example, Robeson believed that Europeans, in giving reason and intellect primacy over intuition and feeling, had not only set in motion a process that resulted in great strides toward conquering nature but also the utilization of technological advantage to conquer other human beings.

One who completely identified with such values faced the prospect of having "his creative faculties stunted and warped" and would become almost wholly dependent upon external gratification." Foner assigns little if any significance to such sentiments, his objective being to show that Robeson's ideas were predominantly products of Marxist theory and experience in the labor movement.

Foner also has sharp criticisms for Stuckey's claim that "Robeson's philosophy was, for all his admiration for European socialism, vastly more non-western than the theoretical formulations of any black thinker of note to emerge in the New World in this and in previous centuries." He suggests that Stuckey ends his study with the beginning of the Cold War so as to avoid discussing Robeson's statements of the 1950s. However, the selections that Foner includes in *Paul Robeson Speaks* do not contradict Stuckey's presentation.

There is something disturbingly oppressive about the tendency of some Marxists to deny black people the validity of their reality when that reality does not



Lena Horne and Paul Robeson preparing for Council on African Affairs rally for African freedom, Madison Square Garden, June 1946.

mesh neatly with the currents of western culture. Foner's presentation of Robeson is a classic example of the treatment black people receive within the Marxist framework. In their mad dash to seize the material wealth of capitalist accumulation and redistribute it to the world, Marxists demand of black people a cultural assimilation that is no less genocidal than that offered by the system it is supposedly opposing.

To borrow a phrase from Robeson, if black people's African values and heritage are successfully liquidated, they can look forward only to the equally unplea-

sant futures of salvation as either "card-board Americans" under the benevolent tutelage of liberal capitalists, or "card-board proletarians" under Marxism.

Because all of us need to know more about the rich legacy of Paul Robeson, both of these works deserve serious reading. They are important not only because their subject was truly a great historical personality, but because when taken together, their perspectives reveal one of the central theoretical problems of the American left.

Chuck Hopkins teaches political science at Mount Holyoke College, Mass.

Poet and Playwright

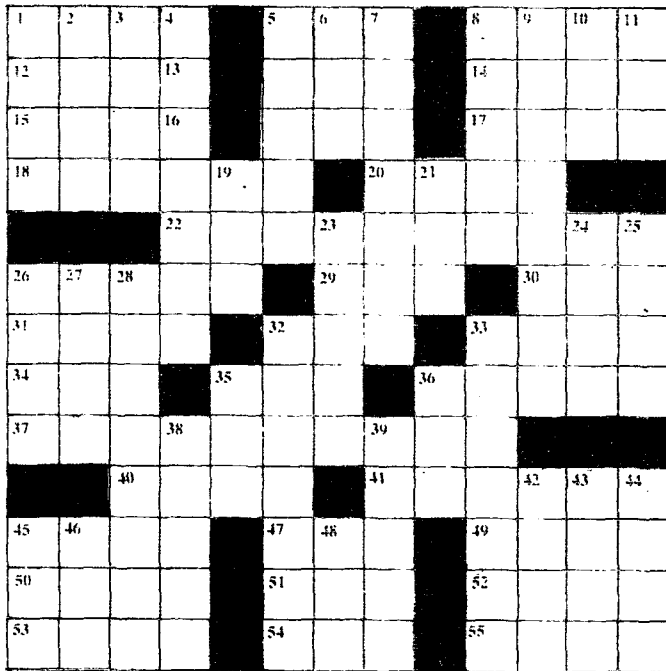
By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 Mineral springs
- 5 Mike's sidekick
- 8 Bruins' young
- 12 Roman statesman
- 13 Narrow inlet
- 14 Part of a minstrel show
- 15 Struggle or contest
- 16 Anything branching out
- 17 "For men work..."
- 18 Meal
- 20 It moves "through gloom of night"
- 22 Carson McCullers' "The Ballad of"
- 26 Put to a test
- 29 Gridiron player
- 30 Dickens character
- 31 Decomposes
- 32 Pack of hounds
- 33 Start for style or winkle
- 34 G.P.'s group
- 35 Tropical snake
- 36 Unlucky one
- 37 "The _____ of Windsor"
- 40 Drugs
- 41 Affix
- 45 Ardent
- 47 Lick up
- 49 Soggy ground
- 50 "An ill _____"
- 51 Former Japanese statesman
- 52 Region
- 53 Hungarian premier (1953-55)
- 54 _____ diem
- 55 Poverty

DOWN

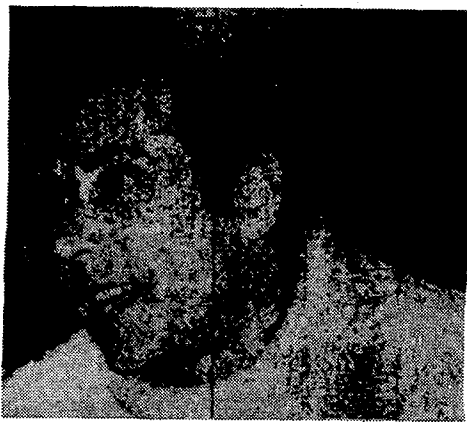
- 1 Blenish
- 2 Errand boy
- 3 On the summit
- 4 "Moonlight," et al.
- 5 Chatter
- 6 Tune
- 7 New York political "Hall"
- 8 Type of entertainer
- 9 Howls
- 10 Twice (music)
- 11 Heavy drinker
- 19 Draw back
- 21 Tack on
- 23 Stop for travelers
- 24 Conflagration
- 25 Eastern VIP
- 26 Biblical Syria
- 27 A few
- 28 Blackbird
- 32 Primrose
- 33 "The _____ Always Rings Twice"



- 35 Side issue
- 36 Lease
- 38 Singer Helen _____
- 39 Mist
- 42 Yorkshire river
- 43 Algonquian Indian
- 44 Chief
- 45 Bristlelike process
- 46 _____ Dolorosa
- 48 Snacked

Answer to last week's puzzle:

TAP RHEA LEAP
ORR EONS ELBA
EMERALDS ALES
AIDE GNATS
RAMP S BEAT
ORBS DIAMONDS
BAL SASSY AIN
AMETHYST ATEE
KOSY AMIDE
STRAP BLAY
PAID SAPPHIRE
ERSE OGRE TIM
DEER BOYS YOLU



NAKED

Continued from page 13.

Naison: You're suggesting that one of the great disservices of the sports media, and of sports culture generally is what it makes average people feel about themselves.

Lipsyte: That's a good point. The emphasis on the "tragedy"—a good sports media word—of the athlete cut down in his prime is a good example. How many times have we heard it: "felled by a blind side tackle." "one wrong move under the boards and he goes crashing to the hardwood, his elbow shattered, his career brought to a sudden and tragic end." Or "He shows true courage, playing on two surgical knees." "Shit, I never could understand how we could be sweating week to week over the agony of Joe Namath, hobbling out there with his braces. How many needles do you think he took before the games, how many doctors were hanging over him, how much time did he have to recover after the few minutes that he played? This was sold to us as courage—when real courage is some mighty sick people we don't know about who are keeping a family together or working full-time jobs.

Naison: When you were first starting out as a journalist, how did people around you feel about women's involvement in sports?

Lipsyte: The general feeling was that sports was a male sanctuary. In the early

'60s, one of the best football reporters in America, a woman named Elinor Kame, was barred from the press box at the Yale Bowl because men thought she had no place there.

Women were not allowed in the press box in major league baseball. The exception was in Chavez Ravine (Los Angeles Dodgers Stadium) where Walter Winchell might come in with two blonde cupcakes. Cupcakes were allowed, but not any woman with a serious purpose for being in a press box. So not only were sports a place where we could gather free from women, but more important, it was a place where we could reinterpret and re-inflate the so-called masculine values of sports.

I always found this funny. Because most sports writers are failed athletes. At some stage in their lives, usually a little later than the average person, they didn't make the team. So in the real division in America, they were the "girls." So here you had the girls watching the boys and reinterpreting and mythologizing the people they worshipped for the rest of the "girls." When some real women came, everybody got scared.

The whole locker room issue that came up recently was particularly funny. All the women reporters said that in the course of their interviews they kept "eyeball contact," they never let their eyes slip down. Shit, male sportswriters went into locker-rooms and looked at cocks! All the time. And they went out afterwards and compared, talked about this defensive tackle being bigger than the offensive guard. Men are always measuring themselves and other men in all kinds of ways. The idea that the privacy of these athletes is somehow being disturbed by women coming into the locker room is absurd. Actually, I wouldn't let anyone into the locker room, given the garbage and nonsense that comes out of it. I never read or conducted a good locker room interview that wouldn't have been much better if done elsewhere.

The big turnaround in thinking on the part of sportswriters, however, is not going to be accepting women as colleagues or in covering women athletes; it's going

to be dealing with female fans. Because the biggest part of the myth was that women were not really sports fans, that they were either groupies who were sleeping with ball players, or were pretending interest in sports as part of the continuing female deceit toward men they were trying to marry or attract.

But what we have to face is the fact that women are sports fans for the same reasons that men are sports fans. It's sexually exciting (at least in some sports) and it is dramatically satisfying, especially at a time when there's not too much live drama (other than hostage situations) on television. Women enjoy the sociability of going to games, the ritualistic chit-chat the next day, and increasingly they can find vicarious pleasure in what other women are doing in sports. It's no longer a wild dream for a woman to imagine herself as a power volleyball heroine.

Women as sports fans on their own are going to have to be accepted as a group, and sportswriters are going to have to change. Because if you read sportswriting today, you observe that it comes out of a very basic white, male, middle class identification. "Us" is always the middle class pale male straight, and "them" is anybody else you're talking about, the blacks, the women. And that is going to have to change, both by hiring more women reporters, and by an increased consciousness on the part of men.

Naison: Do you think race relations in sports have changed much in the last 20 years?

Lipsyte: They've changed enormously now because there are race relations. Twenty years ago, sports were virtually all white.

A lot of blacks and whites have gotten exposed to each other through sports. But we've gotten a false idea of race relations in sports, just as we've gotten a false idea of male bonding and the male brotherhood from watching these teams play. I've traveled with a couple of baseball and basketball teams, and after a game is over, the blacks and whites pretty much go their own way. Their music is different, their clothing is different, their lifestyle on the road is different. There is

not a lot of fraternization. And the team itself is collective only at the moment they are playing together, and not always then. So that the idea of love and true fraternity among men in sports is false, and kids, when they don't find it on their high school team, think there is something wrong with them.

Naison: What are the major issues that sports reformers should focus on?

Lipsyte: There's really only one overriding concern. That's making sports cheap and accessible to everybody. I don't think that reforms on a professional or even a college level are as important as making sure that kids are not crippled, either physically, by being forced to play sports that they are not prepared to play, or psychologically, by being cast off and told that they are not really men.

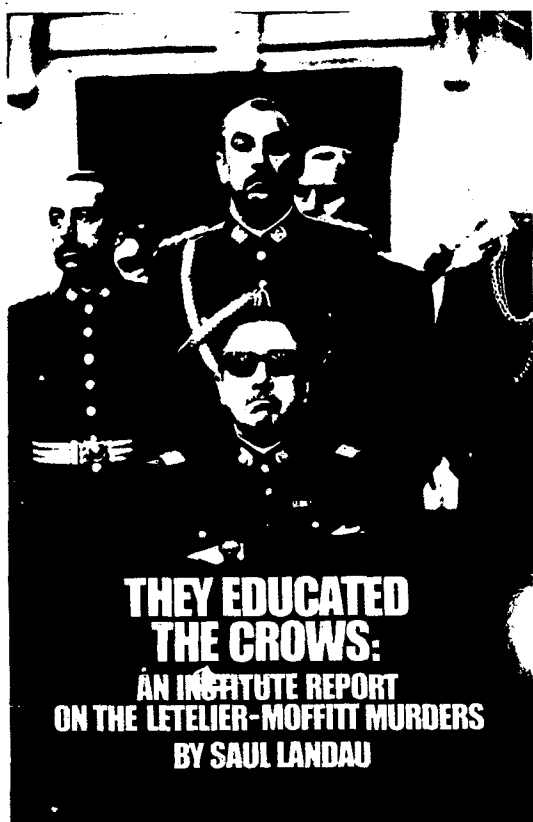
Another dimension of this is to make sure that women have access to all the positive aspects of sports, the so-called group learning values such as working together, collective play, leadership, peer approval—all these things that have been denied women.

Men have always known that you can work with somebody you hate; they've known this from sports. Women have had to learn it in their groups. A lot of lessons can be learned from sports and the important thing is to get people into sports in non-pressurized situations so they can find their own outlets, can find sports that can become an important aspect of their lives.

I don't think it needs to be a mass craze or a fad, tennis this year, jogging the next. It can be anything that you want. And if you don't want to do anything, that's fine too. I don't think everybody's got to go out there and shake their ass. But I think that everybody should know that they can, and that they can enjoy it on all different levels.

That begins in kindergarten, when boys and girls are still playing together. Get them out there, get them to enjoy sports, get them to see the value of sports; get them to see it in non-pressurized situations where coaches are more like teachers. And then it almost doesn't matter what happens up top.

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



THEY EDUCATED THE CROWS:
AN INSTITUTE REPORT
ON THE LETELIER-MOFFITT MURDERS
BY SAUL LANDAU

A DETAILED ACCOUNT of the crime, the investigation, the role of the CIA, the organization of the right wing terrorists and the Latin American secret police forces. This report, prepared by colleagues of Letelier and Moffitt, traces the threads of the crime to terrorists organized by the CIA and the Chilean DINA. It details the plans for the orchestrated cover-ups and disinformation campaigns by former police and intelligence agents.

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Polluters

Continued from page 4.

of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. Henning lashed out at "environmental extremists" and "government bureaucrats" who are intent upon "turning the country into a natural park."

"We think it's blasphemous," said Henning, "to stop a dam project just because it endangers a type of spider life. The real endangered species is the unemployed worker—no hope, no future."

Henning declared that the push for strong environmental protection is coming from "the white middle class sector of society which doesn't care one minute about blacks, the poor, and working people."

David Hawkins, EPA's representative at the conference, countered Henning's claims by quoting from a recent Resources for the Future report which found that environmental concerns are "not the preserve of a small segment of the population. Belief in the seriousness of environmental problems and support for environmental protection cut across all racial, sex, education and income groups."

Gallup poll.

Hawkins also cited a recent Gallup poll which indicated that 60 percent of urban residents feel that not enough is being done about the air pollution problem. Hawkins denied that the Clean Air Act has significantly limited economic growth and said that his agency was willing to work with industry "to iron out the rough

spots and...minimize potential conflicts between the public health goals and other societal goals."

Environmentalists made it clear that not all labor leaders share Henning's views. They circulated a telegram from William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, John Sheehan of the United Steelworkers and Calvin Moore of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers that endorsed the Clean Air Act as "a solid, vital piece of legislation."

In a separate handout sheet, Winpisinger attacked the industry's latest effort to revise the act as "another example of the corporate state gone berserk."

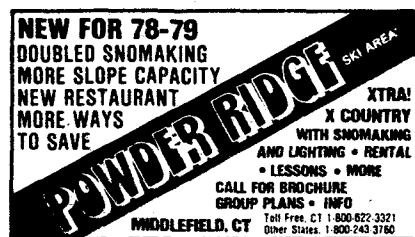
The labor movement was very much on people's minds at the conference. Where will the bulk of the nation's unions line up—with industry or the environmentalists? There was delight at the conference over the presence of Henning and Robert Georgine, president of the Building and Construction Trades, AFL-CIO, who delivered a strong pro-growth speech.

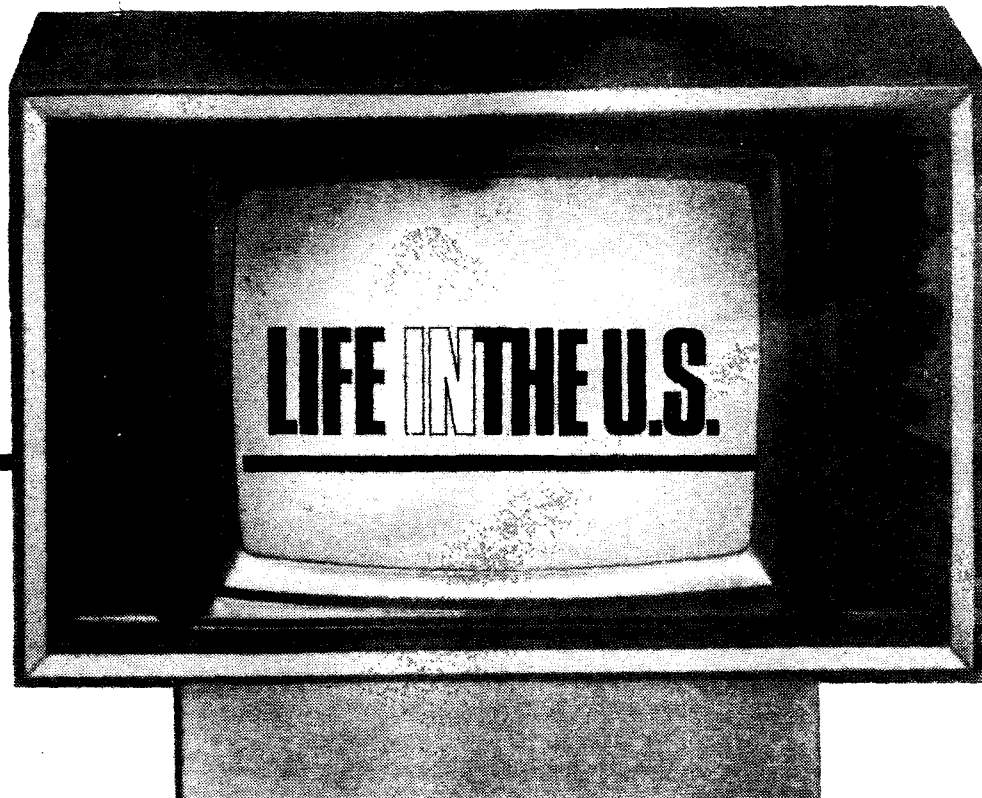
"The most encouraging aspect of this conference was the participation of labor representatives," states John Quarles Jr., former deputy administrator of the EPA and now an outspoken critic of the Clean Air Act. "Industry in the past has tended to go it alone."

Krueger urges action.

Krueger presided over the conference's strategy session. He urged the gathering to take steps to revise the Clean Air Act and protect themselves from "excessive" environmental regulation.

He urged them to get more actively involved in the internal workings of Congress—to pull together a "full educational and public relations effort" aimed at changing the public's perception of the environmental battle, and to pressure federal agencies such as the Office of Management and Budget and the Council on Wage and Price Stability to explore the economic impact of environmental regulations.





By Michael Massing

FIRST THERE WAS THE BOOK *Jaws*, then the movie, then the posters, the toy sharks, the T-shirts and *Jaws II*. Now, just when you thought it was safe to go back into the water...come *Jaws* and *Jaws II* on videodisc, only \$15.95 each, courtesy of MCA/Universal.

Videodiscs and videotapes are new to the rapidly-changing home entertainment market. Your choices may be more limited than current talk of video novelties suggests, though, given some initial moves on the part of the industry.

Twentieth Century-Fox announced last November, for instance, that it would acquire the Magnetic Video Corp., a national videotape distributor. It merited barely a paragraph in most of the nation's business press. In an era of massive mergers, bitter proxy battles and other forms of corporate cannibalism, the amicable deal, which carried a price-tag of only \$7.2 million, could hardly be expected to elicit more than a yawn.

But the transition, while modest in itself, is rich in portents for the future of the nascent home video industry. Magnetic video has been a pacesetter among distributors of tapes for play on video cassette recorders (VCRs).

While its current catalog lists only 200 or so titles—many of them movies produced by Fox—the company has accounted for about half of all videotape sales nationwide. Its vigorous marketing of an untested product has been a major factor in the growth of the fledgling industry.

MEDIA

When you can play anything you want on your TV, will you have anything you want to play?

Although both parties maintain that Magnetic Video's management will enjoy complete autonomy—what would a corporate transaction be without such an assertion?—the formerly independent distributor will serve in the future as an arm of a \$500-million corporation that creates shows for television, owns several TV stations, distributes records and produces motion pictures, including that mass marketer's dream, *Star Wars*.

A precedent has been established for the blossoming industry of home video "software," as the production of pre-

recorded programming for home play is termed.

Software explosion.

Fox's purchase of Magnetic Video, still subject to approval by the studio's board of directors, indicates just how much faith the company has in the new medium. Fox is already distributing 100 of its movies on videotape. Two other studios, Allied Artists and Avco Embassy, have recently introduced their own products to the market. Paramount is expected aboard soon, as indeed are all the remaining

studios, which stand to reap substantial profits by recirculating their second-run movies.

But the movie companies represent only the first wave in what will surely be an outpouring of enthusiasm by the nation's leading entertainment and media companies. The software possibilities for the new technology extend far beyond motion pictures, to include do-it-yourself lessons, sports highlights, pornography, opera and anything else that can find a niche for itself among the public. The potential market is large enough to set R&D units hopping in any company with a stake in films, records, television, publishing or all of the above.

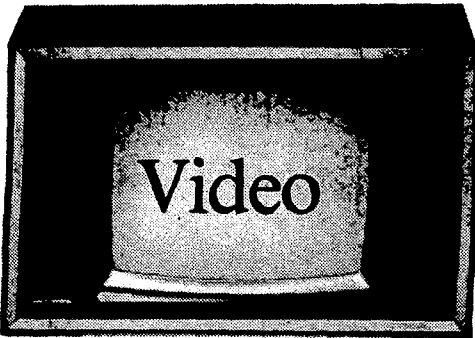
While the tape sales totaled only \$30 million in 1978, projections for the future run wild. Andre Blay, president of Magnetic Video, says he expects software sales of \$100 million by 1980 and as much as \$1 billion by the middle of the decade. Although the medium has proved itself to be notoriously unpredictable in the past, home video software is expected eventually to siphon off a goodly portion of the dollars currently generated by TV.

As for the present, however, the home video market has been growing at a disappointing rate, and corporate executives have slowed their game plans accordingly. Last year's sales of VCRs, accounted for mostly by RCA's "Selectavision" and Sony's "Betamax" models, totaled only 400,000 units, or slightly more than half the level bullishly predicted at the start of the year.

The dollar's decline against the yen has forced up the price of the machines (all

Continued on next page.





Continued from previous page.

of which are imported from Japan). Consumers generally find \$1150-1250 a hefty amount to pay for a machine whose most general use is to record television programs for posterity. Only some three-quarters of a million American homes boast VCRs; industry experts point to a market of four to five million households as necessary to support major software production.

Discs slip in.

Progress toward that figure gained a major boost in December with the introduction of the long-anticipated videodisc system, which will compete with VCRs for dominance in the hardware market.

The videodisc player, produced in the U.S. by Magnavox (a subsidiary of the Dutch electronics giant Philips) features a small laser beam that picks up signals from a grooved disc similar to a phonograph record. The signals are relayed to a television set, producing visual images on its screen. "Magnavision" is now available only in its test market, Atlanta, but the company expects to distribute the unit to retail stores across the country by the end of 1980.

Magnavox had hoped to produce a player it could retail at around \$400, and it spent the better part of a decade trying

to do so. In the end it was unsuccessful, and the unit now on the shelves is priced at \$695. Still, that is less than the price of VCRs. And though it lacks the VCR's recording capacity, the videodisc unit has a decided cost advantage in its accompanying software. Whereas pre-recorded tapes for VCR play generally cost \$50 or more for two hours of programming, videodiscs are comparable to phonograph records in price. The 200 titles now available on videodisc, supplied by MCA, Inc., range in price from \$5.95 for a half-hour cooking lesson to \$15.95 for *The Godfather*.

The large market that could be cracked open by videodiscs has produced what one industry observer calls "software fever" among major entertainment concerns. MCA's disc catalogue includes *Animal House*, which is still attracting crowds to movie theaters. And, as the major studios debate how much time lag to allow between theatrical and home video release, record companies are planning their own entrance into what could prove to be a goldmine for them.

Howard Polskin, an editor of *Video-graphy* magazine, predicts that while movies will make the biggest splash initially, "recording artists will become the biggest seller in home video. The videodisc of *Saturday Night Fever* is being sold in Atlanta for \$15.95. The record album costs \$12.95. With only a \$3 difference, which are people going to buy?"

Cautious foreplay.

Beyond the major entertainment companies are a host of other concerns betting that with a little creative marketing they will be able to gain a profitable share of an expected multi-billion-dollar industry. Time Inc., one of the world's leading distributors of educational and busi-

ness films, is currently test marketing such videotape fare as the "Civilisation" and "Ascent of Man" series, which were so popular on television.

Time's long-range interest in the video market was recently signalled at a conference on software sponsored last October by the International Tape Association, to which it sent ten representatives. Also present there were executives from the Book-of-the-Month Club and *Reader's Digest*, both probing the possibility of transcribing books and magazines onto a video format.

The cautious approach of these companies to the new medium has been dictated by several problems. One is piracy, which, according to FBI figures, has grown into a \$100-million-a-year business. There is also the unresolved question of which of the two video technologies, disc or tape, will emerge dominant. And finally, there is the consuming public and its unpredictable tastes. "Nobody knows the future configuration of the market," says Norman Glenn, a senior vice president at MCA.

But, as Glenn observes, one thing does seem certain: the companies that eventually do dominate the market will be those that "have the money to get into it," i.e., companies that are already well established. "If you ask if anybody is going to start a new video company, I'd say no," he observes. Indeed, Fox's purchase of Magnetic Video suggests that companies that do begin as independent concerns won't remain that way for very long.

Magnetic Video's Blay foresees a home video industry much like the structure of the publishing world, with "eight to ten major companies and thousands of independents." Even in its infant stages the industry is assuming such a form, with Blay/Fox's outfit, MCA's disc library and over a hundred small companies (many of them specializing in pornography) selling tapes through the mail.

Sex vs. clout.

Pedlars of X-rated software will continue to thrive on the popular desire to watch blue movies at home. But the success of independent companies that might produce alternative video is anything but assured. John Giancola, chief administrator of Independent Cinema Artists and Producers in New York, says that independent videomakers, while delighted at the potential new market opened up by home video, must be wary of the marketing ability of the big entertainment com-

panies, which "could easily get the lion's share of the market, as is the case in the record industry. They could take over the home market to the exclusion of independents."

In fact, the huge multimedia conglomerates, with their powerful marketing punch, seem best positioned to take advantage of the home video market. For instance, MCA can tap not only its Universal film studio but also its television programming and record business. Warner Communications might choose to produce home video versions of Warner movies, records, television programs, books, or even Warner soccer matches (it owns the New York Cosmos).

Even greater resources are available to RCA, which has invested more heavily in the medium than any other American corporation (though to date its efforts have been concentrated in hardware). In addition to its VCR model, manufactured for it by the Japanese electronics firm Masushita, the company is developing its own videodisc system. It will use a diamond stylus rather than a laser beam, to read the disc's grooves. When the company gets around to producing software for its players, it will not lack for programming, given the ocean of material its subsidiary NBC has accumulated.

Home video is just a part of the new technology that many policymakers now cite as justifying a reduced government profile in regulating the communications industry. The House Communications subcommittee, for instance, has drafted a revision of the Communications Act of 1934 that would pare back the public presence in radio, television and cable TV. The more avenues available for the communication of diverse views and opinions, the reasoning goes, the more the marketplace can be counted on to distribute resources in an equitable manner. Home video, with its capability for providing material to very select groups that might be overlooked by broadcasters, forms a major element in what is now being called a "technology of abundance."

The problem, of course, is that this new technology is hardly neutral, as the deregulation enthusiasts seem to believe. If current trends continue, home video could develop into little more than a clone of the media world as currently structured. Rather than increase the diversity of expression in society, home video could further the concentrated control that now characterizes so much of American communications and entertainment.

CULTURE SHOCK

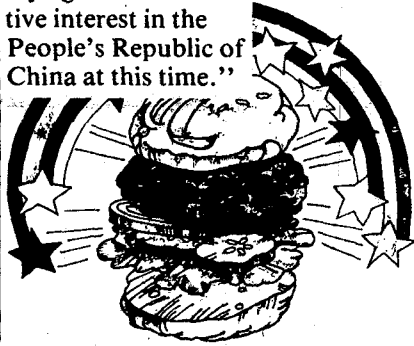
UP-TO-DATE OPIATE

Gore Vidal says about popular movies like *Jaws*: "Such movies distract people from thoughts of robbery and deceit to which they are subjected daily by oil companies, politicians and banks."

BURGER-POLITIK: IT'S AMERICAN, DAMMIT

McDonald's is suing a fast-food organization in Tel Aviv named MacDavid's. The fast-food pioneer also denies the franchise lure of China,

saying it has "no active interest in the People's Republic of China at this time."



SPORTS

Knoetze and CBS win

By Cary Goodman

ON TUESDAY, JAN. 9, ANTI-apartheid groups across the country learned that Kallie Knoetze, a South African heavyweight boxer scheduled to fight in Miami Beach that Saturday, had had his visa revoked by the State Department. While a cop in South Africa, Knoetze had shot and crippled an unarmed 16-year-old black youth during demonstrations in 1977. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, the American Committee on Africa, and ACCESS (The American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sports and Society) all lobbied to cancel the fight.

Jackson said Knoetze represented the worst elements of racism, while fight promoter Don King described Knoetze as a "man who is apartheid, in nature and being." Telegrams from people like Congressman Charles Rangel; Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind.; and Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather and Machineists Union Joint Board, flooded the White House, as well as CBS and Madison Square Garden, co-promoters of the fight.

The Carter administration reversed itself, revoked Knoetze's visa and thereby cancelled the fight. Every major media carried news of the fight cancellation, with perhaps the most coverage carried by CBS itself. Jackson announced on TV that the Carter administration had hon-

ored its commitment to human rights by revoking Knoetze's visa, and demonstrations in New York and San Francisco were cancelled.

Two days after the visa had been revoked, a federal judge in Orlando, Fla., stayed the revocation pending a hearing on Jan. 22, after the date set for the fight.

CBS stood by its decision to televise the fight if it were held, and if it were legal. CBS had, after all, invested more than \$100,000 in the fight. Four days after his visa had been revoked, and still without an H-1 work permit, Kallie Knoetze climbed into the ring of Miami Beach's Convention Center and knocked out Bill Sharkey in four rounds.

Jackson flew to Miami, where he appealed to the Miami Beach boxing commission to cancel the fight; they refused. He went to the Salem Baptist Church for a Friday evening rally to mobilize a Saturday (fight day) protest, while in New York ACCESS held a small demonstration.

But when the fight came off, on Saturday, Jan. 13, the arena was over half full. And after Knoetze's victory, CBS plans to pit him against a top-ranked black heavyweight, probably Leon Spinks.

*Gary Goodman is a member of the steering committee of Sports for the People and the author of the forthcoming *Choosing Sides* (Schocken Books, 1979), a history of the rise of organized play and the decline of working class street culture.*



PUNK ROCK

Continued from page 24.

for Moses." The Jam take on the same theme in "To Be Someone (Didn't We Have a Nice Time)." In this sarcastic look at an ex-superstar, they show that the original punk critique of stardom hasn't been dampened:

*To be rich and have lots of fans
Have lots of girls to prove that I'm a man
And be No. 1—and liked by everyone
Getting drugged up with my trendy friends
They really dig me and I dig them
And the bread I spend—is like my fame
—its quickly diminished"*

Recently, the Jam has begun identifying more with the anti-racist, anti-fascist segment of rock. In a recent interview in the British rock paper *Sounds*, Jam singer/guitarist/writer Paul Weller blasted the neo-fascist National Front. And even more striking, in "Down in a Tube Station at Midnight," the finest song on the new *All Mod Cons* album, the Jam has produced about the most harrowing and moving story of urban violence I've ever heard. The song describing the beating of a man—who is either Indian or Pakistani

—by a bunch of drunken, right-wing thugs.

The honesty and self-consciousness of the Clash is still remarkable. Nowhere is this better shown than on their best cut, "Safe European Home." The Clash's interest in reggae music is deep. On their first album they did a fine version of Junior Murvin's "Police and Thieves," "Complete Control" was produced by ace Jamaican producer Lee Perry, and the band has repeatedly demonstrated its solidarity with Britain's black youth.

Yet rather than writing a simple and obvious ode to Jamaica on the occasion of a trip there, lead vocalist Strummer tells about going to a place "where every white face is an invitation to robbery," and acknowledges that feeling like such an alien makes him realize that he belongs in England. Only someone with both an understanding of racism and self-confidence could have written a song both so self-mocking and so truthful.

Punk rock has had enough diverse elements—the tasteful and the excessive, the mediocrities and the extraordinary, the path-breakers and the posers—that even at its peak it has barely been a definable genre. From the vantage point of 1979 it seems best to drop all pretenses that anything approaching a collective, alternative sensibility exists.

Maybe it's just as well. Bands like the Clash and the Jam have transcended in their music any obvious labels. It is possible that even continuing to refer to them as punk rock bands serves in some ways to perpetuate their ghettoization. In any event, these two groups have few peers in any form of popular music when it comes to conveying the tensions and harsh realities of life in modern society. And they make great rock 'n' roll.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Dan Aykroyd and John Belushi, as the Blues Brothers, rediscover the tradition that Junior Wells works in.

TV comedians sing the blues to the tune of clinking coins

By Dick Shurman

In 1978 every blues artist's fantasy became reality for a pair of relative novices. They made a debut on national TV and became a fixture on that show. They added top-notch sidemen to their act and played major halls in Los Angeles and New York. They were signed by Atlantic Records, a prestigious label that has played an important part in defining and popularizing modern rhythm and blues.

Their first album shot to the top of the charts and became almost instant Gold (million dollar sales), winding up under several forests' worth of Christmas trees. Articles on the group appeared in *Crawdaddy*, *Rolling Stone* and *People*. A movie is planned, to be filmed in and around Calumet City, Ill.

The band is the Blues Brothers, and for "authentic" blues bands, the fantasy remains just that, because when the tongues of the Brothers are not singing or playing harmonica, they're planted firmly in cheek.

Playin' at the blues.

The fun started when *Saturday Night Live* TV personality John Belushi was in Eugene, Ore., filming *Animal House*. He caught a local blues set that included young white harp player and vocalist Curtis Salgado. Salgado has recorded an EP with his former band, the Nighthawks (not the same band that records albums for Adelphi and has a strong East Coast following), and he more recently works and records with the Robert Cray Band. Salgado played Belushi a lot of blues records and transformed his musical outlook.

Belushi's rock'n'roll background, and *Saturday Night* sidekick Dan Aykroyd's background of harp playing, became the underpinnings for an elaborate mixture of myth, parody and proselytizing that led to their rebirth as Joliet Jake Blues (Belushi) and

his brother, Silent Elwood (Aykroyd).

Salgado "became" an elderly black janitor who steeped the Brothers in the blues at an orphanage. This janitor was a mean slide guitar player, with one of the hottest blues albums ever dedicated to him. Related conjurings as the Brothers laid the groundwork for their characters and movie included their black suits and pork pie hats; Calumet City

But will we ever see Junior Wells or Willie Mabon on *Saturday Night Live*?

orphanage background; and Elwood's briefcase, spotlighted by the title of their Atlantic album, *Briefcase Full of Blues*.

From their TV start as a duo performing Floyd Dixon's "Hey, Bartender," and the standard popularized by expatriate Chicago pianist Willie Mabon, "I Don't Know," the Brothers formed an outstanding band. One guitarist is blues legend Matthew Murphy, best known to blues veterans for his work around Memphis in the early '50s and long stretches with Memphis Slim and James Cotton, whom Murphy left early in 1978 after six years together. The other guitarist is Steve Cropper, a key figure in the Memphis Soul sound of the '60s when he wrote, arranged, and played on countless masterpieces by Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, his own band, Booker T & the MGs, and others, mostly associated with the Stax/Volt recording complex. Bassist Duck Dunn is also an MG and ubiquitous session man, and even participated in Muddy Waters' "fathers and sons" blues summit meeting in 1969.

As we could expect from a

band with such soul stalwarts, the group's sound and repertoire reflect Memphis funk as well as the grime of those alleys behind the steel mills and orphanages. Tom Scott's sophisticated sax work on the album sets the tone for an accomplished horn section.

The record includes renditions of songs originally by Otis Redding, Floyd Dixon, Junior Wells, the Downchild Blues Band, Chimps (Silent Elwood's vocal workout), King Floyd, Willie Mabon, Sam and Dave, Delbert McClinton, and Big Joe Turner. Novelty lyrics and delivery dominate this group whose personalities are the message; the musical medium is a distant second and a backdrop for their antics.

The album starts with a regretful obituary for the blues, and is spiced with liberal credits to the sources of material. Belushi even points out Floyd Dixon's L.A. residence, nods both to Willie Mabon and Cripple Clarence Lofton for "I Don't Know," and at one point pays homage by saying, "I suggest you buy as many blues albums as you can."

While continuing to practice as comedians (both to preserve their primary media identities and to take the spotlight off their limited artistic chops), they do make an effort to acknowledge the real thing, most obviously in the form of a band worthy of the highest serious respect.

Almost all their followers, though, are enjoying Aykroyd and Belushi, by whatever names, for their unique act rather than for what they have in common with the hundreds of working blues bands. There is still a large gap of culture and perspective separating Joliet Jake and Silent Elwood Blues from their blues roots. Maybe the best way to see if their success lends any momentum to the careers of Junior Wells, Willie Mabon, and other members of the family, will be to see if any of the Blues cousins or ancestors ever get their own shot on *Saturday Night Live*.

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JAZZ

'Mingus music' always carried spirit of protest

By Derk Richardson

During the 1960 Newport Jazz Festival, Charles Mingus and Max Roach led a walkout of dissident musicians and organized their own rebel festival at the nearby Cliff Walk Manor; the "Newport Rebels" collectively promoted and staged an entire alternative to the increasingly commercial production at Newport.

Although the Jazz Artists Guild that the musicians created was short-lived, that combination of social protest and musical pioneering was typical of the career of Charles Mingus, who died Friday, Jan. 5, at 56. Known as one of jazz's "angry men," Mingus continually infused his music with his deeply critical vision of the world around him.

He was born April 22, 1922, in Nogales, Ariz., and grew up in the Watts section of Los Angeles. As he grew conscious of his "underdog" role as a black man, he learned ways to survive: expressing his pent-up rage through his musical instrument—first cello, then trombone, and finally bass—and earning a living by pimping his girlfriends.

Coming to musical maturity during the drug-plagued bebop era of the late '40s and early '50s, he watched his friends and musical compatriots—Fats Navarro, Charlie Parker, Bud Powell and others—succumb. He outlived them all.

Even during the last year of his life, while battling the debilitating effects of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis ("Lou Gehrig's disease"), which curtailed his bass

The blues, gospel, Debussy and Duke Ellington contributed to his music.

playing, Mingus continued to compose and supervise the studio recordings of his music.

Giant of jazz.

Mingus became one of the giants of jazz. Compositions like "Good-bye Pork Pie Hat," "Better Git It in Your Soul," and "The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady" stand with those of Ellington and Thelonious Monk as masterpieces of modern American music.

While he grew up through bebop, playing with Bird and Dizzy Gillespie, he quickly transcended it. The sophistication of Ellington, the gospel of his mother's Holiness Church, the blues of his Afro-American heritage and the impressionism of Ravel and Debussy all found their expression in "Mingus music."

Mingus rebelled against any categorization of his music. In his autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog*, he wrote, "Jazz—that word leaves room for too much fooling." Mingus insisted on constant risk-taking. His use in the early '50s of furious dissonances, collective improvisation and startling shifts in meter and harmony paved the way for the new black music of the '60s—the avant-garde of Ornette Coleman and Cecil Taylor.

Mingus composed and conducted major orchestral pieces,



Charles Mingus, 1922-1979.

but his most important work was done with his small groups in his Jazz Workshop. Written themes would kick off the soloists into improvisations that would reflect the original spirit of the composition as well as their own personality.

In his combos, Mingus was a disciplinarian. "You had to keep stretching yourself while you were with Mingus," one ex-sideman told critic Nat Hentoff. "He just wouldn't let you coast." He demanded the best from every player and even a partial list of the important jazz figures who passed through Mingus' Workshops shows that he got it: Bill Evans, John Handy, Jackie McLean, Booker Ervin, Jaki Byard, Eric Dolphy, Ted Curson and George Adams.

"I want to get to the point," Mingus said, "where everyone playing something of mine will be able to think in terms of creating a whole, will be able to improvise compositionally so that it will be hard to tell where the writing ends and the improvisation begins."

Music and racism.

More often than not he succeed-

ed, and part of that whole was Mingus' linkage of his music to the realities of everyday life. Occasionally his titles, "Fables of Faubus," "Remember Rockefeller at Attica," or "Haitian Fight Song," would make explicit the underlying spirit of protest that shaped his work.

Sometimes he would break into a sudden bit of sardonic vocal "testifying" to drive home his point, as on last year's "Cumbia and Jazz Fusion":

Who said moma's lil baby likes shortnin' bread? That's some lie some white man up't 'n said... Mamma's lil baby likes all the fine things of life... Truffles, caviar, African gold mines, African diamond mines... integrated schools... freedom!

But the music tells the story best for Mingus. Situations, conditions and feelings are almost palpable in Mingus music.

He rejected the label "jazz," partly because of his acute awareness of the institutionalized racism of the music industry. In the early '50s he was bumped from a television appearance of the Red Norvo Trio because he was the only black member of the group.

He came to the conclusion that "the word jazz means nigger, discrimination, second-class citizenship, the back-of-the-bus bit."

Though his close friends could speak of Mingus' profound inner warmth, his strategy for survival often precluded his being "nice." His brief stint with the Ellington band ended when he provoked Juan Tizol to the point where Mingus was chased off the stage at the tip of the trombonist's knife. (He returned to chop Tizol's chair in two with a fire ax.)

Mingus maintained no ordinary commercial relationship with his audience, either. Hentoff relates the story of Mingus cutting the music dead before a noisy, inattentive crowd and declaring, "If you think what we're doing is weird, just take a look at yourselves." As the Newport rebel experiment showed, however, Mingus cared about the audience and the music it was offered. He would just as quickly stop a number if something was played wrong, and start over to get it right.

Charles Mingus experienced as many lows as any other dues-paying jazz musician, but came through them with an indomitable will to struggle on. The worst period was the late '60s when he secluded himself in the lower East Side of New York in depression and destitution.

He came out of it through day-to-day encounters with the people of his neighborhood: "Ukrainians, blacks, Puerto Ricans—a house painter, a tailor, a woman who owns a bar, her bartender, a maintenance man who says, 'I'll walk you home tonight if you get drunk. And if I get drunk, you walk me home.' ... I don't know if I could have come out of the graveyard if it hadn't been for them."

His abiding commitment to human values and to the struggle against their degradation gave Mingus' music its enormous strength and guarantees its endurance. It is impossible to predict the direction of jazz without Mingus, but modern music with a social conscience has lost its most powerful voice.

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THEATER

'Zoot Suit mania' sweeps LA, moves toward East



By Yvonne Yarbrow-Bejarano
with Tomas Ybarra-Frausto

After an unusually successful run in Los Angeles, Luis Valdez' play, *Zoot Suit*, will move to Broadway early this year, and possibly a film based on the play will be made.

Zoot Suit marks a new stage for Chicano theater. Luis Valdez is founder-director of Teatro Campesino, the agitprop theater begun in California fields during the 1965 Delano farmworkers' strike. Then the theater performed graphic *actos*, self-consciously rudimentary political dramas. The Teatro has since evolved into multifaceted Menya productions; and Valdez works here with some members from the old company.

Zoot Suit dramatizes the violent events of 1942-43 in Los Angeles. Tensions had been raised with the rising *barrio* population, and the development of *pachuco* gangs—Mexican youths alienated from traditional culture and shut out of Anglo life as well, who evolved a vivid and isolated subculture.

In the summer of 1942, police and the L.A. Hearst press began an anti-Mexican campaign, fueled as well by war-time xenophobia. It culminated in the Sleepy Lagoon case, where 17 Mexican youths were convicted of murder.

The *Zoot Suit* riots of 1943 followed. The zoot suit, a uniform adopted by pachucos both as a badge of defiance and a sign of belonging, had been distorted by the press into a symbol of Mexican gangsterism. On June 3, some 200 sailors in a fleet of taxis entered the *barrio*, beating and stripping Mexicans whether they were wearing zoot suits or not.

Poster, T-shirt and button sales indicate the emerging Chicano market for mainstream theater.

The police did not interfere. By June 7, the mob had swollen to thousands.

The murder convictions were overturned through an appeal nearly two years later, but the legal victory was shallow compared with the social tragedy.

Whose history?

The play draws heavily on the documents of the period, but the finished product is a blend of fact and fiction, and Valdez loses the sharp focus the real events have.

The greatest disappointment of the play is its uncritical approach to the social problems it addresses. For instance, the Anglo lawyer (Charles Aidman) who here comes across as the pachuco's savior, convinces them to have faith in the American system of justice. This paternalism is underscored by the blocking: Mexican youths surround the lawyer while he dispenses truth. As continuing police brutality in Houston shows, the legal system still functions as an arm against the poor and people of color.

The same uncritical approach to the causes of racism is seen in Valdez' treatment of the press. The script's indictment of the Hearst papers is strong and clear. But the criticism is only of Hearst's excesses, not of daily newspapers as mouthpieces of the powerful.

The key character of Alice Greenfield McGrath, who played

Anglo lawyer acts like pachucos' savior.

a decisive role on the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, could have given the play the focus it so badly needs. Instead, Valdez uses this figure to provide "love interest."

In fact, *Zoot Suit* is a man's play. Henry Reyna (Daniel Valdez) and his friends occupy the center of attention. Henry's pachuca girlfriend Della (Rose Portillo) is tough and assertive, but she and Alice (Karen Hensel) end up fighting over Henry. (Felix Alvarez, a former member of Teatro Campesino, has also criticized Valdez for allowing this trivial love story to overshadow the fundamental issues.)

Although the real life Alice was a woman passionately committed to progressive ideals, in the scene that introduces the character to the audience her political work is played for laughs. All the stereotypes are confirmed: women are not to be taken seriously, they are always a source of trouble, and they never unite. By neglecting Alice's class-consciousness, Valdez throws away the opportunity to counter the lawyer's blind faith in the system.

Mythic heroism.

But the mixture of myth and reality is what most obscures the potential meaning of the play. The pachuco is presented dramatically on two levels: Henry Reyna (based on the real-life charac-

ter of Henry Leyvas), and El Pachuco, drawn from *acto* technique, a larger-than-life character who supposedly exists in Henry's consciousness as the essence and meaning of the pachuco lifestyle.

Historical and mythical pachuco are opposed, and anyone who has seen the show knows which one dominates the play. Edward James Olmos' El Pachuco easily steals the show with his cat-like grace and devastating one-liners. The audience reacts so positively to El Pachuco that no critical examination of his qualities is possible.

The *acto* technique makes El Pachuco not only larger-than-life but uni-dimensional. The complexities of the pachuco are then projected onto Henry, who appears weak and vacillating next to the seductive image of El Pachuco.

The play's climax is one scene during the riots, where sailors strip El Pachuco of his "drapes." But its effect is undermined by placing it within a mythical rather than historical context. Beaten and divested of the symbol of his defiance, El Pachuco is left clothed only in some kind of indigenous-looking loincloth.

Here the script's contradictions are clear. At one point Valdez attacks the Ayres Report for ascribing innate racial characteristics to Mexicans ("Aztec blood lust"); but here he identifies the pachuco's spirit of resistance with his indigenous roots. This insistence on seeing the pachuco only in cultural or nationalistic terms, ignoring the effects of class, weakens the play.

In the figure of El Pachuco, Valdez continues the trend of ro-

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manticizing the pachuco already present in Chicano literature, rather than analyzing the phenomenon. By failing to present his historical pachucos as workers, which they were, he cannot correct the lumpen pachuco stereotype.

He ends the play with the statement: the pachuco lives. And it is true that the pachuco lives (no longer clad in zoot suits but in pendletons, khakis and headbands), but not because of their persistence of some mythic essence. It is because the conditions that produced him have not changed.

Chicano mainstream theater.

The emergence of a Chicano establishment theater is tied to the emergence of a Chicano middle class and the identification of that class as a potential market. *Zoot Suit* grossed more for the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles than any other show to date. Sophisticated hype accompanies the show; poster, T-shirt and button sales are designed to sustain the "Zoot Suit mania" that swept over Los Angeles during the play's run. Not only Broadway, but Hollywood also is hip to the emerging Chicano market. Two films about to be released are designed to play to this new audience—*Boulevard Nights* and *Gang* (with *Zoot Suit* itself presumably close behind).

Is the inevitable result of this process a superficial product? Certainly the production of *Zoot Suit* headed for New York is dazzling on the surface—the dance routines (by Patricia Birch of *Grease* fame), the costumes, the shining stage floor. But beneath the polished, stylized, almost slick exterior, Valdez has managed to preserve some of the force and drive of the Teatro Campesino days. The most successful elements of the production hark back to an extraordinary quality, a funky *commedia dell'arte*/*Cantinflas* blend that captivated original Teatro Campesino audiences. Perhaps as the play continues to evolve, Valdez will be able to withstand the pressure of commercialization and retain these qualities.

The development of a Chicano mainstream theater has great possibilities of educating a broader public about Chicano issues. Professional theater dependent on middle-class consumption does not have to become superficial.

We also need not make an artificial distinction between the '60s as the era of Chicano community theater, giving way in the '70s to establishment theater.

The Chicano theater movement begun in the '60s is alive and well, including university as well as community groups. The Teatro de la Esperanza, for example, is currently on tour with a documentary piece, *La Victima*, ("The Victim"), which deals with the impact of U.S. immigration policy on working-class Chicanos. The show will play in the capitals of Europe, including those of Eastern Europe.

Zoot Suit can be seen, not as a replacement for people's theater, but an attempt to develop Chicano theater on another level. It remains to be seen whether Valdez can create a Chicano mainstream theater that not only draws Chicanos to see the show, but also speaks to their historical reality. ■

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I DON'T CARE I DON'T CARE I DON'T CARE

It's about time the boosters among us admitted that our hopes of punk rock leading a revolution in the stylistic, political and commercial aspects of rock music have been dashed. Not only has punk failed to catch on in America, but its overall influence even in Great Britain is on the wane. The increasing musical development and growing popularity of particular New Wave bands suggests, though, that all has not been lost.

Punk rock was never given a fair hearing in this country. When the Sex Pistols became the prime focus of media attention in 1977, sensationalized coverage focused on their social hostility, tattered dress, and alleged musical incompetence. (This last charge reflects a more general dislike for all rock music, since—with the exception of the lamentable Sid Vicious—the Sex Pistols were a fine rock band.) The Pistols' well publicized U.S. tour and subsequent break-up, not to mention Vicious' recent arrest on murder charges, all contributed to punk's marginalization.

Punk rock proved to be too raw for the American airwaves, and even bands that succeeded in landing record contracts were unable to get their music heard. The only exceptions were New Wave shows on some big-city FM stations, where you could hear the new music if you were willing to stay up between 2 and 4 a.m. on a weeknight. In addition, the angry, bitter message of many of the punk songs didn't strike a meaningful chord with a rock audience whose cultural alienation is expressed differently.

No airplay usually means no record sales. As a result of its low commerciality, punk rock has been presented mostly in the dingiest venues available, as anyone who has ever visited New York's CBGB's or San Francisco's Mabuhay Gardens can attest. Going to see a punk band generally has meant having to wade through derelicts, alcoholics, and addicts inside and outside the theater. It was not the most enjoyable way to spend one's hard-earned entertainment bucks.

Punk rock failed to realize its overall mission, but generally succeeded in having its most talented participants survive and become accepted in the rock scene. This does not mean that the subversive qualities of the music—such as punk's emphasis on collectivity over individual virtuosity—have been gutted, but that its overall impact has lessened. In this country, minimalist bands like Talk-



ing Heads and the Ramones have shown that they can appeal to more than just a cult audience, even if they still haven't achieved major popular success.

In Britain, the problems have been different. Punk always had strong roots among working class youth and the direct, hard-hitting music developed a substantial following. But again, tightly controlled TV and radio access prevented most bands from even having the opportunity to reach the public. Only the best groups were able to overcome this by developing a reputation through live shows and newspaper coverage. Although many punk bands still exist, the impetus of the movement has been blunted. In fact, it is increasingly difficult to speak of a "movement" at all.

Yet a number of punk bands have over

the past few years been among the biggest sellers in British rock. The Clash's new album, *Give 'Em Enough Rope* (Epic Records) entered the British rock charts at Number 2, and the Jam's *All Mod Cons* (Polydor), due to be released in the U.S. later this month, was an instant top ten album. So there is some justice in the world, for the Clash and the Jam are among the best rock bands around—New Wave, Old Wave, or No Wave.

Although *Give 'Em Enough Rope* is the first U.S. album for the Clash, they have been the standard-bearer in Britain for punk rock since the early days of the New Wave. (CBS has refused to release their 1977 debut, *The Clash*, because of its "rough sound.")

The Clash represented the radical wing

of punk rock. They took part in the 80,000 strong Rock Against Racism march and rally last spring, and their first album explored themes such as repression, youthful unemployment, white racism, British imperialism and class oppression. They publicly rebuked their own record company, on their British single "Complete Control," for releasing a 45 without their permission.

Although the band has improved instrumentally over the past few years, the key elements to their distinctive sound have remained the same—buzz-saw guitars played very tough, very fast, rhythms from reggae and British music halls mixed in with hard rock, and Joe Strummer's harsh vocals, shouted in an almost impenetrable accent accentuated by an overbite. On the new album, American producer Sandy Pearlman has made the sound smoother, but not enough to make the Clash either palatable for the acoustic set or too soft for the hard core.

For a long time the Jam appeared to be almost the opposites of the Clash, despite their also being part of the New Wave. Where many punk bands criticized the rock stars of the '60s, the Jam openly paid homage to bands like the Who—even to the point of dressing up in mod-style suits. The music on their first two albums, *In the City* and *This Is the Modern World*, also resembled the early Who in its hook-laden, power-chord propelled sound. Possessing the strongest melodic sense in punk rock and the right amount of restraint to give their highly charged music an edge, the Jam was from the start the most pop-oriented punk band.

The Jam has always written socially aware songs, but politically the group itself has been conservative. The Jam, for instance, was quoted as supporting the English monarchy, in response to the furor over the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" in the summer of 1977.

But by 1979 some of these differences between the Clash and the Jam no longer existed. In fact, there are some striking similarities between their two albums.

Both groups disdain the decadent lifestyles of rock superstars, the tax exiles who have lost touch with home and the fans who supported them. In "Cheap-skates," the Clash sing: "Just because we're in a group you all think we're stinking rich/'N we all got model girls shedding every stitch/'N you think the cocaine's flowing like a river up our noses/'N every sea will part for us like the Red one did

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BRUCE DANCIS ON THE DEATH OF PUNK ROCK